

NO. 197

APRIL, 1908

25 CENTS

# THE ARENA

B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR



**Trafficking in Trusts, - by Harry A. Bullock**  
**Federal Regulation of Railroad Rates, by Prof. Frank Parsons**

TRENTON,  
N. J.

ALBERT BRANDT: PUBLISHER

BOSTON,  
MASS.

A NEW ILLUSTRATED EDITION OF

THE COMPLETE

# Poetical Works of Joaquin Miller

This is the only Complete and  
Authorized Edition of his Poems

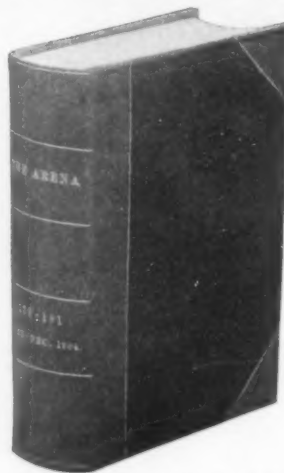
Library Edition, . . . . Price, \$2.50  
Gift Edition, ½ Levant, . . Price, 4.50  
Author's Autograph Edition, Price, 7.50  
(Full Leather)

ORDER DIRECT FROM THE PUBLISHERS

**The Whitaker & Ray  
Company**

San Francisco, California

BOUND VOLUMES OF "THE ARENA"



Bound volumes of this magazine bound in cloth, gold stamp, (including title, volume number and date), sewed by hand, will be sent prepaid upon receipt of \$3.25. State which volumes you desire—Volume 32, (July-December, 1924); Volume 33, (January-June, 1925); and Volume 34, (July-December, 1925). Remit by money-order, bank check, draft or registered letter.

**JOHN A. CARAKER**

Maker of Hand-Bound Bindings

107-109 East Front Street, TRENTON, N. J.

# Robert Grier Cooke

INCORPORATED

American Publishers of the Superb Art Periodical

## THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE

of LONDON, ENGLAND

*"No other art publication covers so wide a field,  
or, on the whole, with such accurate connoisseur-  
ship."*—NEW YORK EVENING POST.

The department of Art in America conducted by Mr. Frank J. Mather, Jr., covers the field of interests of American collectors, connoisseurs, and art lovers in general, and contains scholarly articles on all the important art events in America.

A PROSPECTUS MAILED ON APPLICATION.

**307 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK**





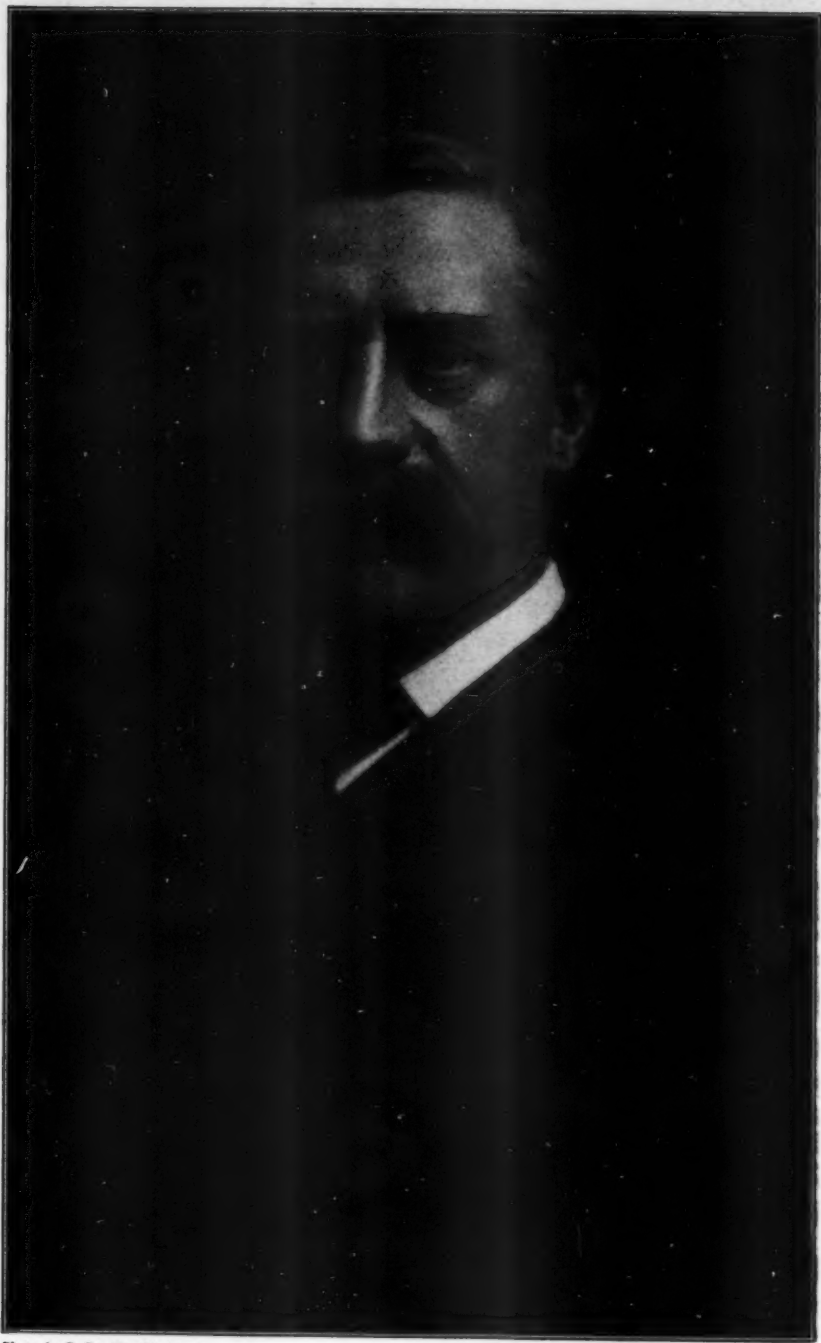


Photo. by Puffer, New York.

STUYVESANT FISH

THE ARENA

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them,  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

# The Arena

VOL. 35

APRIL, 1906

No. 197

## TRAFFICKING IN TRUSTS; OR, PHILANTHROPY FROM THE INSURANCE VIEW-POINT.

### A NEW PHASE.

BY HARRY A. BULLOCK.

IT IS not surprising that such enlightened philanthropists as Henry H. Rogers, George F. Baker, Edward H. Harriman and Thomas F. Ryan should have entered the mission field of life insurance hard upon the departing footsteps of the Messrs. McCurdy, John A. McCall, James W. Alexander and James Hazen Hyde. For despite the great work accomplished by that devoted band before a sensational press, an unappreciative public, and Hughes the Persecutor drove them untimely from their labors, much remains yet to be done ere the beneficent gospel of the deferred dividend shall be brought to its fullest fruition. There is, therefore, cause for genuine public rejoicing that the ripening harvest will not be left for wild birds to devour or for frosts to spoil because no reapers are at hand to gather it into the storehouse. The coming of the newly-found philanthropists finds its clear explanation in a high conception of public duty, and all fair-minded persons, one may be sure, will give to them the measure of credit that they so richly deserve.

One of the encouraging facts about

American life, whether political or financial or religious seems, indeed, to be that wherever a great situation is developed, a great mind is at hand to grapple with it. And it has not infrequently happened that there has been an embarrassment of riches in this respect, as was evidenced last Spring when the doctrinal differences in the Equitable Life Assurance Society brought that institution to a point where it seemed plainly impossible to reestablish the degree of self-sacrificing and harmonious coöperation necessary in order that it continue its Heaven-ordained work. In vain had the elders in council debated among themselves how they should persuade the original disputants to have done with bickerings over mutualization and to behold again with a single eye the vision of an ever-increasing surplus, swelled by the contributions of 600,000 policy-holders, but belonging to no one.

Of no avail was the argument that it mattered little how the elders were chosen, or by whom, so long as the Insurance Law held that no individual contributor, nor all of them, could obtain an account-

ing of the funds that were being administered benevolently for the good of all. Disgraceful scenes transpired. The committee of which Elder Frick was chairman, appointed to harmonize the discordant elements, became itself embroiled when some declared that it gazed at the surplus with too wistful an eye, and Elder Schiff and Elder Bliss and Elder Ives got even to the point of blows because one of them had told another that he lied. It was truly a great situation, and demanded the great mind. This was not wanting. Within the council arose Elder Harriman, and without it, one greater than he—a new disciple, eager for the toil. So it happened that Missionary Ryan came to save the Equitable, and the factional dispute, by convenient device of Lay-worker Root, was disposed of, to the end that all might have a voice in the choosing of elders without disturbing the head missionary in his appointed task of caring for the surplus.

Recent events in that other great eleemosynary institution, the Mutual Life Insurance Company, give us fresh illustration of the situation developing the men. For a generation the work had been entrusted to a prince of missionaries, Richard A. McCurdy. His watchfulness over the surplus had been unceasing; steadily the great fund had grown, and its administration had been so wise and just that the corrupting influence of dividends to policy-holders had been brought to what may be fairly considered an irreducible minimum. The company's income was being distributed so that it would do a maximum of good with a minimum of danger. The policy-holder on the one hand was so protected that he need not fear having \$7.29 forced upon him at the year's end to squander on cigars and billiards; while the missionaries, on the other, were quite as sure not to be disturbed in the syndicate profits, salaries and commissions that constituted their legitimate "great rewards for great achievements." To speak in more detail—if a bit of ecclesiastical terminology

may be pardoned—the salaries and commissions were so large that they exceeded the loading of premiums by an amount sufficient to consume also all the mortality gains, while the investment of the assets was so well ordered that the interest earned barely came up to the four per cent. required for the reserve.

Then Hughes the oppressor came and all was changed. The master-missionary and his devoted family were rudely driven forth. It was a question who should follow him. Again there was a wonderful demonstration of self-sacrifice. Disciple Rogers and Disciple Baker, who, with their lesser followers had been watching the work with clasped hands and uplifted eyes, volunteered to take up the custody of the surplus and to direct the spread of the gospel.

"Let the unbelievers rage," cried they, "we have become anointed of the Lord to perform this task. Even with consecrated standard oil are we anointed, and who shall stand before us?"

It appears, therefore, nothing less than a calamity that any short-seeing or ill-intentioned persons should stand in their way, or public officials seek to mar their exhibition of devoted service by talk of suits and prosecutions. Fortunately, the District-Attorney of New York County has not yet shown a disposition to meddle. How much less should Trustees of the Mutual Life strive for aught save to make the path easier and the way plainer for these new workers in the mission field!

Seriously, however, it is a question that may well be considered by thinking people what is to be the final disposition and control of the billion and a quarter of assets represented by the three great insurance companies, the Mutual Life, the New York Life and the Equitable Life. The glamor that attended the purchase of the majority stock in the Equitable and its transfer to the three trustees, Grover Cleveland, Justice Morgan J. O'Brien and George Westinghouse, has faded, and it is possible to look with un-

dazzled eyes at the Society in its present situation. It has a reorganized Board of Directors whose personal and collective honesty is not to be questioned and a financial administration that has effected substantial economies as well as the restoration of upwards of a million of dollars from individuals and institutions whence it had been diverted to serve the dubious purposes of the old *régime*. It is entirely creditable to President Morton in comparison with performances in certain other companies that he forced the payment of the \$685,000 "yellow dog" loan that was carried in the Mercantile Trust Company in the names of James W. Alexander and Thomas D. Jordan, and persuaded United States Senator Depew and his associates to pay back the \$250,000 that was borrowed from the Equitable by the Depew Improvement Company on real property of speculative value. The same may be said for the restoration of syndicate profits, the general reduction in salaries and unnecessary expenses, and the contemplated suits to establish the responsibility for the improvident leases of space in different Equitable buildings.

But when all this has been said, the fact remains that most of the well-advertised activity of the Equitable's new administration applies to the past, and not to the present and future.

The thing that is going to determine the ultimate verdict upon the Ryanization of the Equitable is the result to policy-holders, and this, subject to such restrictions as the Legislature may impose as the result of the Armstrong committee's report, will depend pretty largely upon whether the company is going to continue to be forced on and on in the rush for new business, still farther past the point where it is possible to put new insurance on the books without positive loss to those already insured.

On the one side of the proposition, the evidence consists of President Morton's recent letter to policy-holders in which he declares that the largest company is not necessarily the best one.

On the other side evidence may be drawn from the testimony of Equitable officials on the stand in the investigation by the Armstrong Legislative Committee that the time had not yet come when bounds need be fixed, either through annual limitation of business to be written or a limitation of the gross business to be carried. In view of this declaration it is not surprising that recent circulars to Equitable agents have been found to contain the same old doctrine of bigness, bigness, bigness and that Equitable officials have joined those of the Mutual and New York Life in protesting against the limitations suggested in the Armstrong committee's report.

In the face of admissions by officers of all three of the great companies during the investigation and the findings of the Armstrong committee that the point had already been reached where new business ceased to be productive of anything but enormous expenses and a swollen surplus, these things are significant. To the financier who wants a life insurance company for a club with which he may lay low his enemies the proposition is of the simplest order. The bigger the company, the heavier the club. It is not here contended that Mr. Ryan wanted the Equitable that he might sell to it immediately new issues of his traction, gas, tobacco or other personal properties. There were plenty of other people who would handle these stocks, however the respectability badge of life insurance investment might be lacking, provided always that they were sufficiently impressed with the necessity of keeping in the good graces of the self-declared philanthropist of 32 Nassau street; and such prospective purchasers were for the most part bankers interested in railroad and other issues for which the life insurance company endorsement was a *sine qua non* of successful flotation. It was as broad as it was long. It made the Equitable a bargain at \$2,500,000 and furnished a quite satisfactory explanation of the unusual concern that Mr. Harriman exhibited when he discovered that his neighbor Mr. Ryan



had got the control of the Society. "It was rather startling to think of Ryan buying the Equitable," quoth Harriman naively to the Armstrong investigators, and he was keen enough to realize that Mr. Ryan's nomination of a President as a condition of his purchase, carried with it the kind of control he desired to exercise regardless of the honesty of the men whom his trustees might nominate for the Board. The result has been what was expected. Save for the elimination of the Alexanders and young Mr. Hyde, the complexion of the executive committee of the Equitable has not changed. In it sit the Presidents of the three subsidiary companies, the National Bank of Commerce, the Mercantile Trust Company and the Equitable Trust Company, and in their boards, in turn, have been placed Mr. Ryan's men, the President of the Equitable; Charles S. Allen, Vice-President of the Morton Trust Company and Paul D. Cravath, chief of the Ryan lawyers now that Elihu Root has gone to advise Mr. Roosevelt. Some proportion of fifty-two Directors of the Equitable meet once a month, but the executive committee meets three times a week, and it is at such meetings as these that Wall street's business is done in most instances.

Bearing in mind, now, the probable use of the \$416,000,000 of Equitable assets, it becomes interesting to see what the situation is in the Mutual and New York Life Insurance Companies. In the Mutual Life, a committee from which Stuyvesant Fish, President of the Illinois Central Railroad, eventually withdrew, undertook to conduct an investigation leading to a reorganization of the company on an insurance, rather than a Wall-street, basis. This involved bringing out various unpleasant details of past management and no doubt would have confronted the trustees with the duty of filling several vacancies in the Board. Whether the investigation would have laid upon the State for an indefinite period the care of certain individuals who had helped manage the company was a ques-

tion that was seriously being considered when it became apparent how far the committee was prepared to go. There was reason for consternation, not only on the part of those who did not want to become wards of the State, but among those whose Wall-street affiliations prevented them from sympathizing with the insurance idea of an insurance company.

And in this latter class were Mr. Rogers and Mr. Baker, the first, the reputed head of the speculative contingent known as "Standard Oil," the latter, long chairman of the Mutual's finance committee, the president of a bank important enough to be a welcome ally to any party in the financial community. They had long watched the McCurdy administration as members of the "inner circle." They allowed themselves to be affectionately termed by the former President of the company, "my trustees." It was he and not they who controlled the proxies and the proxy-collecting organization, and he primarily was the chief beneficiary of Section 56 of the Insurance Law which prohibited a policy-holder, without the consent of the Attorney-General, from bringing suit to force an accounting of the trust funds. Obviously the wisest policy in the past was to keep in on the graft as well as possible and to wait until death or some other manifestation of divine providence should remove the strong old man who had ruled for many years.

The providential thing happened when the revelations before the legislative investigating committee incited a degree of public indignation that made it impossible for Mr. McCurdy to continue in the presidency or in the Board. The very trustees who had claimed membership in the "inner circle" and had for years fattened upon the syndicate largesses passed out from the gilded office on the eighth floor, voted on October 26th last, for an investigation of the company by a committee of their own number. Mr. Rogers and Mr. Baker and William Rockefeller voted for it also, and they put at the head of the Committee William

H. Truesdale, President of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, a man who enjoys personally a degree of respect that Wall street accords to few of its workers, but who is employed by a railroad in the board of which sit William Rockefeller, George F. Baker, James Stillman, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. It needs no demonstration that men of this variety do not sit in corporations for nothing; and they compel obedience from all in their employ, whether as Presidents of their great railroad systems or as footmen on their carriages. The other members of the committee were John W. Auchincloss, a wealthy and genial cotton-broker, and Effingham B. Morris, of Philadelphia, a banker of standing in the Quaker city, who had, however, little familiarity with Mutual Life affairs. Mr. Morris declined to serve, and, as a concession to public demand, Stuyvesant Fish was appointed to his place. Mr. Fish accepted and the fun began.

It would be too long a tale to recite at length the course of events in the Mutual Life from that time until Mr. Fish resigned, on February 15th, from the investigating committee. But it is possible to get at a glance an idea of the work the committee at first intended to do from a paragraph from the instructions it gave to its accountants on November 11th. This was:

"To make a thorough examination into and report on: (a) The relations existing or that have existed between the company and trust companies, banks, safe deposit companies, and other institutions with which the company is or has been affiliated by stock ownership or otherwise; (b) any or all of the books, records, and accounts of any or all of the subsidiary companies that may be necessary for a proper understanding of existing relations so far as the Mutual Life Insurance Company has, or can obtain, the right of access thereto; (c) the relations, personal or otherwise, of trustees, officers, employés, and agents of the com-

pany with trust companies, banks, or other institutions with which it may be affiliated; (d) all syndicate participations entered into by the company, with the resulting profit or loss as to each; (e) syndicate participations or other profits, if any, enjoyed by trustees, officers, employés, or agents of the company through or as a result of, their connection with the company."

It was plainly not the kind of an investigation that the "inner circle" had counted on, but the time had hardly come for open opposition and the committee was allowed to proceed temporarily. Its first report was necessarily directed at the most obvious forms of graft, the outrageous salary paid to Richard A. McCurdy, the equally criminal contracts with the firm of Charles H. Raymond & Company, whereby President McCurdy's son and son-in-law had profited to the tune of \$100,000 a year each for a decade, and the theft of unknown amounts of the company's money through the instrumentality of Andrew C. Fields for the avowed purpose of buying legislation at Albany. There is no use in mincing words in characterizing these features of Mutual policy, for the penal code of the State of New York expressly provides that the crime of grand larceny shall include any unauthorized or illegal expenditure of trust funds whether the individuals concerned in the misuse of them profit personally thereby or not. Just twelve days from the adoption of this report President McCurdy resigned.

The "lid" was now ready to go on. Andrew C. Fields had disappeared; the records of the Supply Department and of other Departments where an investigation would not be relished by the "inner circle" had disappeared; the McCurdys had gone, and the other executive officers were reduced, for the fear of losing fine, fat jobs, to a state of mind where they were quite as subservient to the "inner circle," now become the "innermost circle," as they had been to Richard A. McCurdy in the days of his autocracy.

It was time to choose a successor to Mr. McCurdy; and the man of all men for the position was Charles A. Peabody, personal representative in this country of William Waldorf Astor, counsel for George F. Baker and the First National Bank, a director in the Union Pacific Railroad, which Standard Oil controls, and—be it said gently—counsel for the estate of Stuyvesant Fish's father, Hamilton Fish, and a Director of the Illinois Central Railroad. Stuyvesant Fish, indeed, had been the making of Mr. Peabody. He had introduced the candidate of Mr. Rogers and Mr. Baker into the railroad world, he had established his connection with the Astors and had accepted him as among his closest personal friends for a score of years. Truly this was an ideal gentleman to put at the head of an organization bent upon striking down the one man in the Mutual who had the honesty of vision which enabled him to see the need of reform and the courage to come out and fight for it.

But enough of that phase of the matter; it would lead to a digression interesting enough as an illustration of how a useful tool serving in the Board of two railroads may sell out the benefactor who placed him in both positions but would have no direct bearing upon the present phase of Mutual Life matters. It may simply be remembered as an illustration of one way in which Standard Oil does its work.

In the Mutual there were at first a few trustees who joined with Mr. Fish in opposing the election of any man to the Presidency of the company until the investigation had gone its course; but their numbers were limited and their courage a steadily diminishing asset, so that it was but a week from the time when Peabody's name was first proposed until he received a unanimous election. And this was the end of "reform" in the Mutual. A strangling process began, directed in Board meetings by Mr. Rogers and one Julien T. Davies, a gentleman who was believed to have good reason for desiring

the "lid" to remain on, and executed between meetings by Mr. Peabody himself. In vain did the investigating committee, in the intervals in which Messrs. Truesdale and Auchincloss could be galvanized into action, demand information about the doings of the "inner circle" and recommend suits; the one was refused flatly by Mr. Peabody and the "legal questions" involved in the other were referred to Joseph H. Choate on an *ex parte* statement of the facts made by President Peabody and known to no one save Mr. Choate and himself even to this day. Mr. Fish, in disgust, resigned from the investigating committee, and the other members, faintly protesting that a "thorough investigation" would be carried on, bended their heads while the final rivets were put in the collar they had somewhat uncomfortably worn since the committee was appointed in October.

In the New York Life the work of "reform" has been prosecuted somewhat more judiciously than in the Mutual. The election of Alexander E. Orr to be President of the Company, while it carried with it the confession that there was no intention to push through an executive reorganization during his incumbency, was nevertheless not so "raw" an undertaking as the election of Charles A. Peabody. The New York Life's investigating committee, with Thomas P. Fowler, the President of a controlled railroad, as chairman, stamped rough-shod upon the prostrate forms of John A. McCall and Andrew Hamilton, offered gentle reproaches to George W. Perkins, lately Vice-President, for paying out \$100,000 of the policy-holders' money without other authorization than the behest of Mr. McCall, and finally adjourned until after the annual election of trustees, which was scheduled for April 7th. Mr. Perkins remained still a trustee and member of the finance committee, as did Charles W. Fairchild, and E. D. Randolph was still Treasurer of the company, so that it went without saying that the deals whereby these three gentlemen and others

allowed the New York Life's money to be used in various questionable stock operations had not been probed beyond the attention given them by the Armstrong committee. Meantime New York Life agents the country over were being told "proxies are business," and the "bigness, bigness, bigness" cry was stilled for a few weeks that the shout of "proxies, proxies, proxies" might be heard the louder by the policy-holders and the public.

By the report of the Armstrong committee to the Legislature on February 22d, the proxy campaigns of both the New York Life and Mutual Life Insurance Companies have now been halted in view of the virtual certainty that a special act will be passed postponing all insurance elections until November 15th and canceling all existing proxies. But this is only a postponement, and it will be a credulous policy-holder who believes that because the companies are not now to seek proxies before September 15th, they will be any the less ready to avail themselves of the entire agency organizations that were turned to the work during the first two months of this year, or to push without diminution of vigor the campaigns for the tickets they may name on July 15th. Of course the policy-holders, either individually or in the organizations now made possible by the compulsory publication of the policy-holders' lists five months prior to elections, will have an even, or, perhaps, more than an even chance, inasmuch as they do not have to nominate until a month after the companies name their tickets. Thus policy-holders will have opportunity to profit by whatever criticism the administration nominees arouse; but that will not elect their own candidates if they do not see to it that their nominations are effectively supported, and it is all too well known to need emphasis here that delays of five or seven months in bringing about a crisis in a great public movement are as a rule more favorable to those who hope

for an abatement of public interest than for those who are striving to keep it at a point where it can be employed to regulate and to punish. The Armstrong committee has given to all policy-holders a wonderful opportunity to exercise an "effective voice" in the management of the companies by decreeing a general election of all trustees for the 15th of next November. The policy-holders of the New York and Mutual Life Insurance Companies may be sure that if they fail to profit by it, the companies will make no similar mistake.

To the other features of the committee's report a more extended discussion ought to be given than is possible within the scope of this article. Its comprehensiveness, and the grasp that its framers have demonstrated of their subject is sufficiently attested by the fact that the "Big Three" companies, against which particularly it is directed, have been utterly unable to find a basis for a general opposition that they themselves believe will be of the slightest avail before the Legislature. Instead, they have been filling such newspaper space as they can obtain by wails of the injustice that the report will do their agents, and of the impossibility of writing under its provisions anything like the volume of business that they have been putting on their books each year under the old *régime*.

It may not be amiss, therefore, to consider here very briefly this single feature of the Armstrong committee's report to see if it has not a fundamental bearing upon the question raised at the outset as to the final disposition of the assets of the "Big Three." It is apparent, of course, that whatever restrictions the great companies may be placed under as regards new business will not diminish existing assets unless by the very gradual process following a decision to stop writing new insurance entirely. The Equitable, Mutual, and New York Life, therefore, are all left to be dealt with as investing institutions having upwards of a billion and a quarter of dollars belonging to nearly



two millions of policy-holders the world over. The Armstrong committee, in its prohibition of stock and collateral trust bond investments and of syndicate operations of all kinds and in its demand that there be an annual accounting by which even existing deferred dividend policy-holders may see what the companies are earning on the funds held in trust, has attempted to meet this situation as best it may, and, judging from the complaint of the companies against prohibition of stock and collateral trust bond investment, it has done a pretty good job. But the discussion of these things may be left for another writing. The fundamental part of the report, as meeting the problem of the future, is that which has to do with the limitation of new business and the prohibition of the deferred dividends.

Remembering now the way in which bigness appeals to the financier who wants a life insurance company for a club, it requires no great degree of imagination to picture what the new school of life insurance philanthropists think of the Armstrong committee's basic proposition that there is a point beyond which life insurance companies ought not to be allowed to grow, and that the "Big Three" have passed this point long ago. The most irritating thing about the committee's performance is that it has not attempted special legislation which might be attacked on constitutional or other grounds, but has taken up the simplest of all economic propositions. This is that in any life insurance company managed in the interest of its policy-holders, business which is put on the books by borrowing from surplus earnings in any year which otherwise would be distributable to policy-holders already in the company, is not business that is worth having. "Let the new business pay for itself," is what the Armstrong committee recommends, and to this end it proposes that the cost of writing it shall be limited to that part of the first premiums applicable to expenses, which is known as the loading, plus the mortality gains of the first five years,

when investment expenses have been deducted. The committee would amend the reserve law so as to allow the companies to utilize these mortality savings, on the theory that in reckoning for the first five years of a policy, the per cent. of mortality is so far below the average for later years that the full reserve is not required.

The reasoning at this point may be gone into with some detail, because of the very common device employed by the larger companies to confuse the layman who seeks to question the expense of getting new business. The argument of the companies has been something like this: All business—particularly the deferred dividend kind—contributes to the surplus, since the borrowings necessary to make up the excess of first year's expenses over first year's loadings are paid back out of renewals in later years; the surplus (in theory) belongs to the policy-holders; therefore all business contributes to the funds belonging to the policy-holders. The argument was very plausible, like many other insurance arguments, but it had one fundamental trouble. The proposition that the surplus belonged to the policy-holders was like that advanced to the small boy to whom an affectionate aunt at Christmas gave a beautiful vase. His parents put the vase on a high mantelpiece and told the boy that it was his but he could n't have it. It may not be carrying the parallel too far to say that under the old *régime*, Section 56 of the Insurance Law, which the Armstrong committee would now repeal, was the mantelpiece.

What the companies have failed absolutely to do has been to distinguish in their heart to heart talks with policy-holders between general surplus, being the difference between general liabilities and assets; net surplus, being that part of the general surplus over and above the sum held as applicable to existing deferred dividend policies, and annual surplus, being that part of the premiums collected from policy-holders in excess of the amount required for the reserve and for all the



expenses of the company. What the Armstrong committee has done has been to point out that the general surplus, or net surplus, as the case may be, is approached through the annual surplus, and that in a mutual company, while a reasonable net surplus should be maintained against unforeseen contingencies of the business, the balance of the unused portion of the premiums ought to be paid back to the policy-holders from whom it has been collected, not as a distribution of largesses by the beneficent managers, but as the refund of an overcharge for a commodity which the policy-holders have the right to get at its net cost.

Whether this repayment shall be made annually or at the expiration of a period of years, is a detail; the committee has declared for the annual distribution on the ground that the policy-holders have nothing to gain and disingenuous management's everything, by the other method. That does not affect the fundamental proposition that business which in any year is put on the books by borrowing from that year's surplus otherwise distributable to existing policy-holders, is written at their cost, regardless of whether it eventually contributes to the general surplus of the company, if on a deferred dividend basis, or to the net surplus, if deferred dividends are prohibited. And the excess cost is just as much an unnecessary expense as an extra \$50,000 a year put on a President's salary by a finance committee that goes on a "you tickle me and I'll tickle you" basis.

But all this reasoning of the Armstrong committee means a system of insurance in which the size of a company is merely an incident and subject to certain economic limitations; and the size of surplus, or amount of assets depends, of course, upon the value of business carried. As a matter of theory, therefore, as well as of concrete conclusion, the new school of insurance philanthropists have reason to make such outcry as they may be able against the Armstrong committee's report.

And what is to be the result? If reform, genuine reform, is impossible from the inside, how can it be brought about from without? By such legislation as is now proposed? Yes, partly, but there is a variety of corporation lawyers of great ability who have built up their social station and their fortunes *pari passu* by devising means whereby laws intended to protect the people may be circumvented. And the greatest of these is Elihu Root. So we may conclude that laws will not do it alone. Is it to be by litigation? Yes, perhaps,—but with a District-Attorney who has slumbered peacefully through twelve months of the worst revelations of corporate corruption that the country has ever seen, the people of New York county have not reason for overmuch hope from that quarter. Is it, then, to be through a policy-holders' movement? Perhaps so, yet the best intended campaigns of this character have been brought to naught through failure of the public officials to act or through failure of the courts to extend their protection.

Yet legislators and prosecutors and judges are all creatures of the people and their sworn servants—in theory, at least. It remains, therefore, for the people the country over to say whether it shall be so in practice, and the series of explosions that have uprooted in the past twelve months the old life-insurance ring, thought to be so firmly intrenched that even the powers of Wall street would not openly attack it, furnishes an impressive lesson of what an outraged public opinion can do when it undertakes to compel attention of those who have long defied it. Mr. Ryan has some appreciation of this when he inveigled an ex-President of the United States to become the figurehead of his scheme for running the Equitable. Henry H. Rogers and George F. Baker and William Rockefeller and James Stillman, with all their armies and camp-followers seem to be thus far quite lacking in similar keenness of perception.

HARRY A. BULLOCK.

MARCH 1, 1906. *New York, N. Y.*

## FEDERAL REGULATION OF RAILROAD RATES.

BY PROF. FRANK PARSONS, PH.D.,

*Author of The City for the People, The World's Best Books, The Story of New Zealand.*

**I**N THE early railway charters, both in England and America, the rates to be charged were carefully prescribed by legislative authority, just as was the case with the turnpike companies that preceeded the railroads. In England and in many of our states maximum rates have been fixed by law for many years. The principle of regulation is thoroughly settled in our law; the right and the need for it are clearly manifest. The only questions relate to the extent of the regulation and the methods to be adopted.

The President and his supporters believe the best way is to enlarge the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission so that it may fix a reasonable rate, or at least a maximum rate in place of one found, upon complaint and hearing, to be unjust, unreasonable, or discriminatory. They claim that the railways do not deal justly; take all they can get; discriminate unfairly between persons and places, etc., and that experience has abundantly shown that they cannot be trusted to make rates without strict control. The railroads say that it would not be fair to put the control of rates in a government board; that no such board could understand the special conditions in all parts of the country which enter so largely into rate-making; that the power to make rates is the essence of ownership in the case of railroads, and to transfer that power to a public board is practically to take the roads for public use without compensation; that railway managers have as much right to fix the price of the transportation they have to offer for sale as the storekeeper or manufacturer has to fix the price of the goods he offers in the market.

Both parties appear to be perfectly correct in their fundamental positions. If the railroads make the rates, the public

is not treated fairly. If a public board should make the rates, the railroads might not be treated fairly. There is some justification for this view in the history of the decisions of the Commission, though not nearly so much as the railroad attorneys allege. But it is clear that somebody must make the rates. And it is equally clear that there is no system of rate-making that will do perfect justice. I know of no railway minister or traffic manager in Europe or America who even dreams he knows of any method of rate-making that will do justice all round under present industrial conditions. The post-office principle may ultimately be applied to diffuse the burden of distance over the whole community, but it is not practicable at present. If then a certain amount of injustice is unavoidable, and we must choose between injustice to a small group of stockholders, or to eighty millions of people, which alternative shall we accept? If there is no way to solve this problem that will not work injustice somewhere, shall it be to the little group of profit-makers or to the great public, the people of the United States?

Besides this quantitative comparison there is a qualitative comparison that is still more weighty. Such injustice as may be done to the railways is merely a matter of diminished dividends on stocks, a very large part of which is water, while the false rates and unfair discriminations made by the railway managers not only affect property interests many times greater than railway stocks, but deny equal opportunity and undermine morals, manhood, government, civilization, and progress,—values far higher than any financial items whatever. Moreover, it is not unlikely that a board constituted somewhat differently from the present one might eliminate most of the errors

of the Interstate Commission as well as those of the railway managements. What are the causes at work in the case? The reason the Commission has made some injurious rulings is that they lack the thorough acquaintance with traffic conditions that the railway managers possess. And the reason the railway managers make rates that are contrary to public policy, is that they are more or less influenced by motives that are antagonistic to the public interest. The Commission is disinterested; it has no wish or personal interest leading to unfairness either to the railroads or the public; its motive is right, but its knowledge is imperfect. The railway traffic-managers, on the other hand, have a more perfect understanding of the transportation business, but their interest is not altogether in harmony with justice and the public good. Is it not possible to create a board that shall have the thorough knowledge of first-class railway experts, together with the high motives and unmixed interests of an honorable public commission or court, and so remove the chief causes that have worked injustice in the past?\*

The railroads say: "About 93 per cent. of the decisions of the Commission which have been passed upon by the courts have been held to be erroneous."†

This statement gives too strong an impression of the capacity of the Commission for mistakes. About 3,726 informal complaints have been made to the Commission, nearly all of which, perhaps 3,400, have been disposed of by correspondence or some mild form of arbitration; very many have been settled satisfactorily, some have been abandoned and some have crystallized into formal complaints. The total number of formal complaints has been 854. "From 1887 to October, 1904, the Commission rendered 297 decisions; some 43 suits were in-

stituted to enforce the orders of the Commission and 34 of these were finally adjudicated." The Commission claims that 8 cases of excessive rates and unjust discrimination have been decided in its favor, while President Willcox says that the courts have sustained the Commission on the merits in only 3 cases. Mr. H. T. Newcomb who appeared before the Senate Committee as the representative of several railroads gives a table showing that in the circuit courts the Commission has been sustained 7 times and reversed 24 times, the circuit court of appeals has sustained the Commission  $4\frac{1}{2}$  times and reversed it  $11\frac{1}{2}$  times and the United States Supreme Court has partly sustained the Commission in one case and reversed it in 15.

On the facts as they stand we find: First, that about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the Commission's decisions have been right on the railroad's own showing. They only claim 32 reversals out of 170 orders—nearly all the rest have been accepted by the railroads or enforced upon them by the courts. Second, the reversals have been based on questions of law in respect to which the courts disagreed among themselves. Third, the points in respect to which the Commission has been overruled are very few. The decisions have gone in bunches. For instance, while the Alabama Midland long-and-short-haul case was pending in the courts a number of other long-haul cases were decided by the Commission and when after several years the Supreme Court gave final judgment, a whole block of the Commission's rulings on this point were discredited and subsequent reversals were simply repetitions involving no new error. So the question of power to fix rates covers a cluster of cases all thrown down in reality by one ruling. And these two questions represent nearly the whole difference between the courts and the Commission. The 15 reversals in the Supreme Court do not mean 15 errors even in respect to legal points but only a very few errors, if any. Fourth, the higher court reversed the

\*See pages 66-68 of *The President's Railroad Policy*, Ginn & Company, Boston.

†David Wilcox, President of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad; Hearings Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, 1905, page 3,644.

lower in 9 out of the 17 cases that went up from the circuit court, and in three of these cases the Supreme Court reversed both the Circuit Court and the Court of Appeals. Fifth, it is by no means certain that the Commission was wrong and the court right. The fact is that the Supreme Court has not interpreted the law according to its manifest and well-known intent, but in a narrow, technical way that has defeated in large part the real purpose of the act. It is an absurdity to rule that the law is valid and then to decide that the railroads may escape from the long-haul section by means of dissimilar circumstances created by themselves. And many believe it to be an equal absurdity to declare that the Commission may order the discontinuance of an excessive rate or unjust discrimination but cannot fix a reasonable rate. Take the Kansas oil rate for example. The railroads at the dictation of the Combine raised the rate from 10 to 17 cents. Suppose the Commission had ordered the roads to cease charging 17 cents, that being found to be unreasonable. The railroads could appeal and if after several years the case went against them they could make a rate of 16½ cents. Then a new investigation could be begun, the Commission could make a new order, and after years in the courts the rate might come down another half-cent perhaps. And so on. Even if all the decisions went against the railroads it would take 105 years to reduce the rate to 10 cents again, calculating on the new basis of the average period of 7½ years required for final litigation. Why not sum up the process in a single order for the ten-cent rate and if objected to by the railroads have one judicial contest and finish the business? By the indirect method of declaring one rate after another to be unreasonable the Commission has now the power at last to fix the rate. The proposition to allow it to name a reasonable rate is only putting in direct, brief, effective form the power it now has in indirect, diffused, and ineffective form.

The railroads might not act in the way described, but the point is that they could do so; there is no power in the law as it stands to-day to compel them to adopt a reasonable rate within a reasonable time.\*

The Hepburn Bill, which has passed the House by a large majority, provides that the Interstate Commission, on complaint and proof that any railway rates or charges, or any regulations or practices affecting such rates are unjust, or unreasonable, unjustly discriminatory, or unduly preferential or prejudicial, may determine and prescribe what will, *in its judgment*, be the just and reasonable rate or charge which shall thereafter be observed as the maximum in such case; and what regulation or practice in respect to such transportation is just, fair, and reasonable to be thereafter followed. The order is to go into effect 30 days after notice to the carrier. And any company, officer, or agent, receiver, trustee, or lessee who knowingly fails or neglects to obey any such order is liable to a penalty of \$5000 for each offense; and in case of a continuing violation each day is to be deemed a separate offense.

It is provided that the Commission may establish maximum joint rates or through rates as well as rates pertaining to a single company, and may adjust the division of such joint rates if the companies fail to agree among themselves. The Commission may also determine what is a reasonable maximum charge for the use of private cars and other instrumentalities and services, such as the switching services of terminal railways, etc. No change is to be made in any rate except after 30 days' notice to the Commission, unless the Commission for good cause shown allows changes upon shorter notice.

The Commission may petition the Circuit Court to enforce any order the railroads do not obey. And if on hearing "it appears that the order was regularly made and duly served, and that the carrier is in disobedience of the same,

\*See *The Heart of the Railroad Problem*, Little, Brown & Company, Boston.



the court shall enforce obedience to such order by a writ of injunction, or other proper process, mandatory or otherwise, to restrain such carrier, its officers, agents, or representatives, from further disobedience of such order, or to enjoin upon it or them obedience to the same." Appeal may be taken by either party to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Commission may in its discretion prescribe the forms of all accounts, records and memoranda to be kept by the railways, and provision is made for inspection as follows: "The Commission shall at all times have access to all accounts, records, and memoranda kept by carriers subject to this Act, and it shall be unlawful for such carriers to keep any other accounts, records, or memoranda than those prescribed or approved by the Commission, and it may employ special agents or examiners, who shall have authority under the order of the Commission to inspect and examine any and all accounts, records, and memoranda kept by such carriers."

This law, if passed by the Senate and put in force, promises to operate as a serious check upon the abuses connected with private cars, terminal railroads and midnight tariffs, but it does not touch nine-tenths of the methods of discrimination. Between 60 and 70 different methods of unjust discrimination between persons and places are in use in our railway business to-day. The fixing of a maximum rate cannot prevent either secret rate cutting or favoritism in facilities and services, nor even open discrimination in the arrangement of classifications and adjustment of rates between different localities.

No doubt this law in the hands of an able and honest Commission would do much good, but it cannot reach the heart of the railroad problem which, as we saw in the February number, is the unjust discrimination between persons and places. No amount of maximum rate fixing nor prescribing of regulations can destroy discrimination so long as we have

the pressure of great private interests driving the railroads into the practice of favoritism.

The history of railroad legislation in this country shows that the railways do not respect or obey the law when it conflicts with the fundamental financial interests and orders of the railway owners and trust magnates, whose gigantic power represents the railways sovereignty and control in America to-day.

On page 3 of the House Report, 59th Congress, 1st Session, No. 591, January 27, 1906, accompanying the Hepburn Bill, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce says: "It is proper to say to those who complain of this legislation that the necessity for it is the result of the misconduct of carriers. . . . If the carriers had in good faith accepted existing statutes and obeyed them there would have been no necessity for increasing the powers of the Commission or the enactment of new coercive measures."

What reason is there to believe that the railroads will accept a new statute in good faith and obey it any more than any former law? On the contrary, the probability is that if the Hepburn Bill becomes a law the main effect will be to compel railway managers and counsel to sit up nights for a time planning methods to evade and overcome the new provisions. Even if Congress gave the full power at first demanded by the President, the power to fix the precise rate to be charged, the general effect would probably be, as affirmed by the railway president quoted in the February issue, that the railways would exert themselves to control the Commission. They have always at hand the weapon of practically interminable litigation, and it is very doubtful whether the railroad representatives in the United States Senate will permit any law to pass until it is amended so that the review in the courts shall go to the merits of the Commission's order in each case. Powerful interests are opposed to any provision that will permit the fixing of a rate, even a maximum, to go into effect before



it is approved by the Federal courts.

We are heartily in favor of the Hepburn Bill and would be glad to see far stronger regulative measures passed, but nothing more than a moderate palliation of the railway evils under which we suffer must be expected from such legislation. England with her rigid control has not been able to stamp out railroad abuses, and the lesson of English railroad regulation is that the subjecting of private railways to a public control strong enough to accomplish any substantial elimination of discrimination and extortion takes the life out of private railway enterprise along with its evils. Even Germany with all the power its great government was able

to exert, could not eliminate unjust discrimination until it nationalized the railways, and so destroyed the root of the evil, which lies in the antagonism of interest between the public on the one hand, and the owners of the railways and associated industries on the other. In this country, where the railroads exert much more control over the government than the government exercises over the railroads,\* there is not much hope of eradicating fundamental evils with the toy-whip of the regulative measures now pending and likely to be enacted by Congress.

FRANK PARSONS.

*Boston, Mass.*

## JUDGE LINDSEY: A TYPICAL BUILDER OF A NOBLER STATE.

### AN EDITORIAL SKETCH.

#### I. FUNDAMENTAL WORK FOR THE REDEMPTION OF THE ERRING YOUNG.

A SHORT time since we called the attention of our readers to the great educational reform being inaugurated by Mr. Wilson L. Gill in the School City movement—a reform as basic in character as that of Pestalozzi and Fröebel and more pregnant with promise for democracy than any advance step that has been taken since the dawn of the era of popular education. This month we invite the attention of our readers to the work of another true builder of a nobler civilization, a fundamental thinker who has brought brain and heart to bear upon solving one of the gravest and most important problems of society.

The work inaugurated and carried forward with splendid success by Judge Ben. B. Lindsey of Denver, Colorado, is of such a nature as to commend itself to

every true man and woman, to every believer in democracy. And just here we wish to point out a fact which cannot be too impressively or too frequently emphasized: Every great world-movement possesses a dominant or vitalizing ideal or master-thought which, however hidden it may be, is the mainspring of action. Now the master-ideal or moving and vitalizing spirit of democracy is *justice illumined by love*—it is altruism as contrasted with egoism. Its passion is for humanity, for the all, for the elevation, the prosperity, the development, the advance and the happiness of the whole people. The true democrat must of necessity be a lover of the race. He must be ready to work, to sacrifice, and if need be to suffer for others,—work, sacrifice and suffer that all the people may enjoy the same opportunities and rights that he enjoys.

\*See *The Railways, the Trusts and the People*, Equity Series, Philadelphia.

Whenever we find true democrats—men who understand the great principles underlying democracy, who believe in them and live them as did Jefferson and Lincoln—we find men with a passion for the rights of all the people, men whose hearts go out in loving kindness to all, but especially to the unfortunate, the weak, the oppressed and the down-trodden with the same great love and yearning that were manifested by the Prophet of Nazareth.

On the other hand, whenever we find men who stand for class-government and privileged interests, we find men in whom the secret wellspring of action is egoism, men who exhibit that infidelity in regard to moral idealism that is fatal alike to the cause of justice, to the rights of man and to the triumph of democracy. Hence in proportion as commercialism advances; in proportion as privileged interests become dominant in business and political life; in proportion as reactionary concepts and class-rule ideals permeate government, we see indifference to the rights of others and especially callousness in the presence of the weak and the helpless if they stand in the way of the advance in wealth or power of the representatives of privileged interests and reactionary ideals. Moreover, when egoism flourishes we see little attention given to fundamental reasoning along social, economic or ethical lines. There may be a great show of interest in palliative and superficial remedies for acknowledged wrongs and widespread misery, and much ostentatious charity, but there will be little earnest work for justice, little of that love of man displayed that sinks all thought of self for the weal of the people.

When we find workers for a nobler civilization who are fundamental philosophers, we find men who are at heart altruists, apostles of justice, democrats, using the term democrat in its broadest and noblest signification as meaning one who opposes class-rule, privileged interests and whatsoever is inimical to free institutions.

And so it is with Judge Lindsey. He is a true democrat in that he places the interest, the happiness and the uplift of all the people above all considerations of self or of any class; and he is preëminently an apostle of justice, with the breadth of vision of a true philosopher instinct with that all-consuming love that has marked the lives of earth's noblest and greatest benefactors.

Some years ago his attention was called to the methods pursued by the state in the treatment of juvenile offenders. The more he studied the matter the more thoroughly he became convinced that the attitude of the state toward offending children was marked by a brutal indifference to its most sacred charge and an ignorance or shortsightedness that represented the extreme of folly, because it fostered crime and thus entailed great expense on society while lowering the morals of the community. He believed that an entirely different course would save to the nation annually thousands of boys and girls who under the prevailing treatment were becoming hardened criminals—a curse to themselves, a menace to society and a great expense to the state. He believed that while every consideration of economy and of ordinary business wisdom imperatively demanded a radically different method of treatment, above and beyond all this there rose the demand of justice to the child, to the state and to civilization, which the old treatment of the young offenders ignored. He saw that where property was concerned the state was zealous in protecting the interests of the child, holding that the child was irresponsible till he arrived at his majority and appointing guardians for his property interests; but at the same time, in most commonwealths, the child of ten who committed an offence against the law was held accountable and punished for the same, while the parents whose carelessness and indifference in many instances made them the responsible criminals were ignored by the department of justice. His experience in deal-

ing with crime showed him that the young were in a vast majority of cases the victims of environment, the plastic instruments whose downward inclination was due largely if not chiefly, to improper, careless or negligent home influences; bad associations on the street and careless indifference on the part of government and society together uniting to make them transgressors before they had arrived at the age when the character is formed or they have any adequate realization of moral relations. More than this: he was satisfied from a study of the problem, supplemented by close personal observations, that children around whom home and state threw their combined protecting care in a loving manner would rarely become other than honorable and useful citizens. The great need of the child was the correcting so far as possible of environing conditions, reinforced by moral stimulation authoritatively yet lovingly enforced by the state. Crime cannot be justified and society must be protected, but if the children be regarded as victims rather than as responsible moral agents, and the state keeps in mind the awful responsibility devolving on it in the presence of a human soul, and if it recognizes the wisdom and policy as well as the duty of saving the child as a self-respecting member of society instead of through an indolent, short-sighted, brutal and ignorant course making him an enemy of society and a curse and expense to the state, one of the greatest and to civilization most fundamentally important victories of modern times will be won.

Now to demonstrate the truth of his enlightened conclusions, which it will be noted are in perfect alignment with the ethics of Jesus, Judge Lindsey consecrated his life. Legislation was secured necessary to make the parents responsible for the misdemeanors of the children. This was a great victory. Next the Judge addressed himself to the attitude of the state toward the offending child, introducing an innovation that was thoroughly revolutionary in character. Keeping in

view the fact that the young are largely irresponsible victims, he has made the School Court a genuine state confessional, where the young have learned to know that they will receive loving, sympathetic and strengthening counsel and advice in all efforts to atone for wrongs and to become strong, brave, self-respecting men and women. The Judge never lets the child feel that crime is to be justified, but he also always makes him see that in him, the representative of the state, the weak or offending one has a loving elder brother who understands the trials and temptations that beset the offender and who stands ready to save him from disgrace and prison and to help him upward and onward.

Heretofore the state has been concerned with the reclamation of stolen property and the punishing of criminals, without any due regard to the salvation of the little offenders. As a result children have been arrested, disgraced, imprisoned and allowed to mingle with hardened criminals; and often the slight offender has through this cruel and unjust process become a confirmed law-breaker, a menace to society, a constant expense to the state, and a curse to his family and to himself.

All this, so far as Denver is concerned, is past, and the results that have followed have more than justified the most sanguine expectations of Judge Lindsey and his co-workers. Hundreds upon hundreds of children have been saved to the state without the humiliation and degradation attending the old methods. Hundreds of children are to-day among the brightest and most promising of Denver's young citizens who under the old system would have been in reform-schools or prisons, or Ishmaelites of civilization, embittered by the deep conviction that the state was their enemy and with the feeling that they had little or no chance of a fair show in life.

The course pursued by Judge Lindsey has demanded work, patient, tireless, loving service such as only an apostle of



HON. BEN. B. LINDSEY

THE ARENA





humanity would devote to the experimental effort for the redemption of the unfortunates of society and the ennoblement of manhood. Judge Lindsey has had to convince the young that he was their friend, entitled to their confidence; that the state was their loving protector and not their enemy. He has shown them that the state must protect all the people; that it cannot permit wrong to be done and take no notice of the offense; but that it wishes to be just and to lift, help, support and sustain the child who has gone astray; that its purpose is twofold: to protect society and to help the unfortunate and the erring to be strong, fine helpers of civilization and the state.

And it is wonderful to see how wholeheartedly the young have responded to this call to the divine in their souls—to this call of the human to the human, pitched in the key of love.

The work inaugurated and carried forward by Judge Lindsey is epoch-marking and in many respects analogous to the splendid work inaugurated by Philippe Pinel more than a century ago in the treatment of the insane, which changed the whole age-long method of dealing with insanity and turned the face of medical science from the night of the dark ages to the dawn of a love-illuminated civilization.

## II. SOME FACTS AND ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES SHOWING THE RESULT OF THE NEW SYSTEM.

Some idea of the success of Judge Lindsey's efforts may be gained from the fact that during one year three hundred children voluntarily came to the Judge, confessed to wrong-doing and asked for his aid and discipline to help them become what they wished to be—good boys and girls. One little fellow, taken on suspicion of having committed a serious offence, confessed to the Judge his wrong-doing. Later he induced five or six companions to voluntarily confess and give themselves up to the Judge. One little

chap came into the court one evening and inquired if Judge Lindsey was there. On being taken into a private apartment he said: "Judge, I've been swipin' things, and I want to cut it out, and I want you to help me." The Judge asked what brought him there. He mentioned a companion who had been on probation. "He told me to come," continued the little fellow. "He told me if I did n't cut it out and do what was right, it would only be a little while before the cop would get me and I would go to prison, but if I'd cut it out and come to you, you would help me."

Six years ago many of the boys in the state industrial school were seen in the yards with balls and chains attached to prevent them from running away. Under the new order all this has been changed. When the Grand Army encamped at Denver the boys in the reform-school naturally longed to be present to see the soldiers, to hear the music and to behold the city in gala dress. Judge Lindsey proposed to give them the opportunity to spend the day in Denver under no surveillance and with no pledge other than their own word given to him that they would return voluntarily to the school at a certain hour. The believers in the old order were horrified at the proposition. They deemed it reckless. They did not understand the new spirit that had come with the inauguration of a system of divine justice or justice illumined by love. The Judge went to the boys and said: "Boys, how many of you would like to go to Denver and spend the day?" Of course the whole school was eager for the great holiday. Then the Judge told them that he believed in them; he believed that no boy in the school would give him a pledge and then break it; and believing that, he had given his pledge that every boy would be back in his place at a certain hour if they were allowed to go. All the boys promised and the school of over two hundred went to Denver, and every boy returned at the appointed time.

Boys sentenced to the reform-school

are frequently sent alone and unattended, bearing their commitment papers, and none have betrayed their trust.

Do you say that this is simply owing to the power of this wonderful man? The Judge will tell you, No, and in proof he will point to the system which, patterned after that of Denver, has been introduced and brought into practical operation in Salt Lake City and in Omaha. He will tell you that in the former city the boys sentenced at the reform-school are given their commitment papers and sent unattended to Ogden, and in only one instance has a boy attempted to run away, and for that the court-officer was responsible. The boy had given his word that if trusted and sent unattended he would go to the reformatory, and he went to the depot, bought his ticket and was waiting for the train, when all at once he discovered a court-officer shadowing him. He felt at once that he had been betrayed and lied to; that he was being followed and watched. Now if the game of the court is to follow, the game of the accused is to fly, and the boy threw away his ticket and fled. When caught he declared that he had no thought of attempting to run away until he saw the court-officer and found that the state was not keeping its plighted word or faith with him.

For some years Judge Olmstead in New York City has conducted a most successful children's court, and other cases might be cited.

One of the very important phases of Judge Lindsey's great reformation in behalf of the children is found in the compelling of parents to recognize in a measure at least the solemn responsibilities that devolve upon them. The result in this direction has been most positive and salutary. It has forced the parents to recognize the obligations they owe the child and the state. They have brought children into the world—future citizens, human souls facing an eternity of glory or of gloom—and upon them devolve obligations of the holiest and most sacred

character. If through ignorance, thoughtlessness, indifference or wilful selfish absorption they have evaded their duties, then the state owes it to the child and to society to compel them to perform those duties, and in cases where parents' environment is such that they are unable to cope with the problem, the state under the new *régime* becomes a potent assistant in the work of saving the child to society. Here are some typical cases:

Three girls between twelve and fifteen are found walking the streets after ten o'clock at night, without a chaperon. The probation officer takes them in charge. The mothers are summoned and the Judge gives them a lecture showing them what will almost surely come as a result of this morally criminal negligence. He shows them that they are the real offenders and fines them twenty-five dollars each, but suspends the payment of the fine until the children are again found on the street at unreasonable hours. The result is that the children are rescued from threatened evils that might easily lead to their ruin before they realized their peril.

A boy is brought before the Judge. He has been caught in the commission of a grave misdemeanor. He is the son of a wealthy father—a man who has become so crazed by the mania for gold that all his finer and nobler sensibilities are blunted. He is absorbed in heaping wealth. At night he comes home, sometimes the worse for wine drunk at his club, usually irritable and self-absorbed. He makes everyone in his home miserable without realizing what he is doing. Instead of gathering his little ones to him around the evening lamp, entertaining them and leading them by love's sweet way onward and upward, he neglects them. They are barks laden with precious treasure, set adrift on a treacherous sea without compass or rudder, without captain or pilot. Now it is not long before the Judge has the recreant, gold-drunken father on the carpet. He is brought face to face with his delinquent conduct and

its fearful results. He is made to see that he, not the neglected boy, is the greater criminal, and he is fined and warned that far more serious consequences await him if he continues to neglect his boy.

There are other cases where parents are themselves victims of unfortunate circumstances. Here the state is a good angel to them and the children. A single incident will illustrate this fact.

It is eleven o'clock at night. The Judge is returning from a banquet. He is in one of the great hotels of the city. A scrub-woman is washing up the marble floor. She sees him and rising comes timidly to him, saying: "Oh, Judge, I can never express my gratitude to you for what you have done for my boy. You see, I have to support the family with my hands; I cannot give him the attention he ought to receive. He got among wild boys, but you have saved him. He goes to school regularly now; he has come to like the teacher and to be ambitious to succeed."

"Yes," replies the Judge, "the teacher tells me he is one of the most regular attendants and one of the best lads in the school."

Often children innocent of some offense charged against them, but with a questionable record, are haled before the court. Under the old system they were quickly examined, judged and punished, with the result that the child was disgraced for a crime he did not commit. He thus hated the state because the state had been unjust to him. He went forth from the reform-school ruined. Henceforth society had an Ishmael to deal with, while under just and loving treatment he might have become a high-minded and useful citizen. Let us illustrate with a typical case:

One day a boy was brought to court by a judge and a physician who lodged the complaint. The judge insisted that the prisoner had thrown a stone through the car-window as the car passed the school-yard. The judge's face was badly

cut, and both he and the physician insisted that they saw the boy who had been arrested commit the offense. Judge Lindsey examined the boy in private. The lad freely confessed to many misdemeanors, but stoutly affirmed that he was not the one who threw the stone. As a result of a thorough questioning Judge Lindsey became convinced that the boy was telling the truth. He returned to the accusers and amazed them by telling them that he was morally certain that the boy was innocent. They immediately demanded that he find the guilty one. He set out for the school which was the scene of the offense. Here he explained to the boys that he was in trouble; that he was not willing to have an innocent boy judged guilty of an offense that he believed the prisoner did not commit; and he appealed to the youths present to help him out of his trouble. He asked the one who really cast the stone to confess. After this heart to heart talk one little fellow rose and said: "Judge, I heaved the stone."

Scores of other cases could be cited showing that under the old method the innocent child would have been judged guilty, all because of the criminal indifference of judges and of society to the tremendous importance of punishing only the guilty and of saving the young to the state instead of making them enemies of the state and a curse and an expense to society. Here is another example of this character:

A little girl with an ugly wound on her thigh prefers a charge against a boy of about her own age, claiming that he had inflicted the wound. The boy stoutly denies the offense. The Judge examines them separately. He finds out that the two mothers have recently had a hair-pulling argument which led to their being haled into court. The result of his investigation convinces him that the boy is not guilty. He then examines the girl by herself. She finally confesses that she had fallen and the tongue of her little cart had inflicted the wound. The par-

ents are summoned. The Judge strives to show them the absurdity and the criminality of hate. He reasons long and earnestly with them, appealing to all that is noblest and best in their natures, for their own sake, for the sake of their children, and for the sake of society. In the end they shake hands and become friends.

These cases, as we have noted, are typical. It would require a whole magazine to give anything like an abstract of the instances that might be cited which have been followed by the redemption of the young from evil and the peril of evil environment through the labor of this great-hearted, wise, constructive statesman—this just judge and true democrat who has shown once and for all that the path of wisdom, true statesmanship and human advance is the path of justice illumined by love—the path marked out by the great Nazarene—the way he walked two thousand years ago.

Moreover, the practicability of the great work wrought by Judge Lindsey and his associates in Denver has been further demonstrated elsewhere, in Salt Lake City, in Omaha, in New York City and other centers.

Slowly, but we believe surely, we are moving toward the light, and though the clouds of egoism, sordid materialism and reaction lower darkly over government and business life, though moral anæsthesia seems to have settled over many of the great public opinion-forming influences, there are numerous agencies, fundamental in character, that are working for the furtherance of democracy and the rights and upliftment of the common man. The School City and the School Court are two of these agencies that are leagued with the light of a brighter day, because a juster and a freer day. Moreover, the great heart of the people is sound, and while we who love our nation and our race must not relinquish one whit our bold and insistent battle against corruption, the injustice of privilege or the night of reaction, while we must not close our eyes to the evils that threaten and strike at the heart of free government, let us not become disheartened or faithless, for our cause is the cause of God. The eternal uplift of life is dependent on the triumph of the moral verities. We are fighting under the glorious light born of justice, freedom and fraternity, and the eternal day is ours.

## MAIN CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY PROF. ROBERT T. KERLIN, A.M.

### II.

THE DISTINCTIVE mark of the first years of the nineteenth century was unrest. The French Revolution had just occurred, and that had broken up the foundations, had severed connections with the past, had started all men to thinking in new ways and to conceiving new orders of society, new eras of progress, new forms of government, new systems of thought. A discontent with

things as they were, a desire to destroy and to rebuild on other foundations, a radiant hope that a new day was about to dawn, seemed to possess all minds.

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,  
But to be young was heaven! The whole earth  
The beauty wore of promise, that which sets  
The budding rose above the rose full blown.

New ideas and new forces were indeed rife, and, as a result, literature had a new



birth in almost every country of Europe. In England, one of the brightest constellations of poetic geniuses since the Elizabethan era rose in the first years of the century. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats, Byron, Scott, are but the most brilliant of the galaxy, and they are all herald stars of a new day.

Goethe is the European representative of the intellectual conditions, the spiritual conflicts and aspirations of that era: the man of most universal culture, of the largest natural endowments, of the clearest aims, of the deepest insight, of the firmest equipoise; yet betraying, at any rate in his earlier years, which came before the Revolution, the very state of intellectual unrest and seeking for better things out of which the Revolution sprang. The questioning and the rejection of traditional authorities, the critical attitude toward all things, the adoption of an independent standard of judgment—all this implying freedom of the individual man—this was characteristic of the representative minds of that era, and preeminently characteristic of Goethe.

What, we may therefore ask, were Goethe's views on the eternal objects of all thinking men's thoughts; his conceptions of God, Man, and Nature; his religion? To give a complete answer concerning any one of these matters is to answer regarding all, for all constitute one system—the universe and the Power that animates it. Carlyle's account of Goethe's religion will bring the subject fairly before us,—and here we have need of all the intellectual fairness we are capable of. It is the man's doctrines with which we are concerned, not his irregularities of conduct, which are so ineffacable a blemish. "Goethe," then says Carlyle, "has not only suffered and mourned in bitter agony under the spiritual perplexities of his time; but he has also mastered these, he is above them. At one time, we found him in darkness, and now he is in light; he was once an Unbeliever, and now he is a Believer; and he believes, moreover, not by denying his unbelief, but by following it out; not

by stopping short, still less turning back, in his inquiries, but by resolutely prosecuting them. This, it appears to us, is a case of singular interest, and rarely exemplified, if at all, elsewhere, in these our days. How has this man, to whom the world once offered nothing but blackness, denial and despair, attained to that better vision which now shows it to him not tolerable only, but full of solemnity and loveliness? How has the belief of a Saint been united in this high and true mind with the clearness of a Skeptic; the devout spirit of a Fénelon made to blend in soft harmony with the gayety, the sarcasm, the shrewdness of a Voltaire?"

If we ask definitely what Goethe believed, seeing, in Carlyle's estimation, that he is a believer, we shall find the greatest degree of satisfaction in letting him answer for himself. This then is his first belief: "No one now doubts," he says, "the existence of God any more than his own"; but "what do we know of the Highest Being?" Like the wisest men of all ages he is silent in the presence of Him whose ways are past finding, of Him who inhabiteth eternity. But of God's relation to the world that He has formed and rules this is the poet's conception:

"What God would outwardly alone control  
And on His finger whirl, the mighty Whole?  
He loves the inner world to move; to view  
Nature in him, himself in nature too.  
So that what in him works, and is, and lives,  
The measure of his strength, his spirit, gives."

Regarding immortality, the second great natural and universal conception of mankind, he has this to say: "I could in no wise dispense with the happiness of believing in our future existence, and, indeed, could say, with Lorenzo de Medici that those are dead for this life even, who have no hope for another." "To the unseen but not unreal world," therefore, as Carlyle says, Goethe did bear witness, and was an influence against materialism and unbelief. Goethe's own final estimate upon himself was that he had been an emancipating force in the world, he had contributed to the liberation of the



German mind. But his influence extended far beyond Germany; it was European, and it was, as he deemed, beneficent, conservative, making for the union of knowledge with reverence.

In Byron and Shelley the spirit of revolt against institutions that seemed to have no other support than ancient custom, voiced itself in poetry that still throbs with passion. They strove against the world, against tradition, against authority, against convention, against all the existing order of things, because they believed all this was wrong and cruel, not founded upon justice and nature, not consistent with the idea of the brotherhood of man. Ineffectual, indeed, was this passionate revolt, ineffectual and tragic. The individual who leads such an attack must always go down, as the opposer of society in the Greek tragedy goes down, before the general sweep of sentiment, the resistless stream of national habit. But the protest has gone forth, has been uttered, and in years to come it shall be heard and pondered and so become an element of reform.

Of Byron scarcely can it be said that he had a clear idea of what new order he would have supplant the old: he appears upon the stage as a Mephistopheles, a denier and destroyer,—

"He taught us little, but our soul  
Had felt him, like the thunder's roll."

But Shelley is a genuine reformer, he is transported by the vision of a new society, a society in which the titan, Humanity, shall be unbound and set free from the tyranny of fear and superstition; free from all usurped and arbitrary authority; free from the enthroned idols of thought. Freedom is his magic word,—Freedom, then Justice, then Power, then Joy. Concluding the sublime drama of "Prometheus Unbound," in which the sufferings of humanity in revolt against the unauthorized and doomed tyranny of Jove are represented, he utters the thought that was the inspiration of all his passionate verse:

"To suffer woes which hope thinks infinite;  
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;  
To defy power which seems omnipotent;  
To love and bear; to hope till hope creates  
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;  
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;  
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be  
Good, great, and joyous, beautiful and free;  
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory!"

His conception of God, nature, and the human soul finds expression in the following stanzas from "Adonais"—one of the most splendid passages of poetry our entire literature can show. Of his dead brother-poet, Keats, he thus writes:

"He is made one with Nature. There is heard  
His voice in all her music, from the moan  
Of thunder to the song of night's sweet bird.  
He is a presence to be felt and known  
In darkness and in light, from herb and  
stone,—  
Spreading itself where'er that Power may move  
Which has withdrawn his being to its own,  
Which wields the world with never-weary love,  
Sustains it from beneath, and kindles it above.

"He is a portion of the loveliness  
Which once he made more lovely. He doth  
bear  
His part, while the One Spirit's plastic stress  
Sweeps through the dull dense world; compelling there  
All new successions to the forms they wear;  
Torturing the unwilling dross, that checks its  
flight,  
To its own likeness, as each mass may bear;  
And bursting in its beauty and its might  
From trees and beasts and men into the heaven's  
light.

"The splendors of the firmament of time  
May be eclipsed, but are extinguished not;  
Like stars to their appointed height they climb,  
And death is a low mist which cannot blot  
The brightness it may veil. When lofty  
thought  
Lifts a young heart above its mortal lair,  
And love and life contend in it for what  
Shall be its earthly doom, the dead live there,  
And move like winds of light on dark and stormy  
air."

Wordsworth, no less than Shelley, had the vision of a new earth, and the contemplation of it, amid the quiet scenes of pastoral England, gave an elevated if not a rapturous joy. After the failure of the French Revolution, turning from the world of feverish strife, of false aims and ill-spent energies, to the healing influences and sure, calm workings of all-sufficient Nature, and to the simple, unspoiled lives of shepherds, he found, in solitary meditation,

" . . . . . that blessed mood  
In which the burthen of the mystery,  
In which the heavy and the weary weight  
Of all this unintelligible world  
Is lightened."

There he learned of Nature, that she "never did betray the heart that trusted her"; there he learned to reverence humanity and to "recognize a grandeur in the beatings of the heart"; there he found God, a universal presence and power,

"That in the unreasoning progress of the world"  
works for us and is

"Most prodigal  
Of blessings, and studious of our good,  
Even in what seem our most unfruitful hours."

He, too, like Shelley, had his dreams of a new condition of society in which man should live after the simple, healthful ways that nature teaches. Men were to return to virtue by returning to truth, which they would find in nature. The spirit of a new democracy, a genuine natural democracy, therefore, utters itself in Wordsworth's poetry; a spirit that had its birth in reflections upon the natural virtues and the unfailing "worth and dignity of individual man."

Never before did a poet of the same gifts deal in his poetry so exclusively and so impressively with the common experiences of humanity. Never had poet before affirmed with such reiteration and emphasis the doctrine that:

"There's not a man  
That lives who hath not known his godlike hours  
And feels not what an empire we inherit  
As natural beings in the strength of Nature."

In Carlyle the conflicting forces of a passing and a coming era were in a state of volcanic confusion and violence. His soul was like chaos, dark, mighty, full of blind fury and tempest. The bewilderment, the struggle, the passionate outcry, the giving up and the gaining, the ultimate victory—all are described, as never before nor elsewhere such a conflict was described, in *Sartor Resartus*, one of the most original, thoughtful, and impressive books ever written. In a memorable chapter of that book (Book II., chapter VII.) he tells us what the nature of the

main conflict was. And as there is something universal in it, being not one man's conflict only, but more or less all thoughtful men's, we doubtless all have dwelt upon the tremendous words in which it is stated. "To me," he there writes, "the Universe was all void of Life, of Purpose, of Volition, even of Hostility: it was one huge, dead, immeasurable Steam-engine, rolling on, in its dead indifference, to grind me limb from limb." But after "dim years" of "mad fermentation" one day in Rue de l'enfer "there rushed like a stream of fire over my soul, and I shook base Fear away from me forever. I was strong, of unknown strength: a spirit, almost a god." This experience the dour Scotchman calls his spiritual New Birth. In our parlance it is called conversion, and his description of it we would call his testimony. The words, to be sure, are rather strange-sounding, but the nature of the case is not at all unique. The everlasting No, saying, "Behold thou art fatherless, outcast, and the Universe is mine [the Devil's]," had pealed through all the recesses of his being, and then, in native, God-created majesty, with indignation and defiance, his whole being stood up and answered, "I am not thine, but free and forever hate thee!"

"Sweeter than Dayspring to the Shipwrecked in Nova Zembla; ah, like the mother's voice to her little child that strays bewildered, weeping, in unknown tumults: like soft streamings of celestial music to my too-exasperated heart, came that Evangel. The Universe is not dead and demoniacal, a charnel-house filled with specters; but god-like, and my Father's!"

Of Wordsworth, Arnold says he attained peace by putting by the problems of his time. And I will add, the resolute and firm confidence with which he did this was itself heroic, and exerted a wholesome, helpful influence on other minds. But Carlyle was not so constituted—he must meet the enemy in the open for a deciding conflict: to the strongest, victory. And this was Carlyle's first great

service to the age: he clearly stated the issue, he unflinchingly admitted the opposition of answers to the riddle of the universe. There is a touching passage in the *Iliad* where it is related how the Greeks, in the midst of doubtful battle, fighting in darkness, prayed to Zeus for light—only for light, that they might distinguish foe from friend, and might not perish striking wildly and vainly in the dark. So prayed Carlyle; and God said: "Let there be light." The battle henceforth was in the open, the fighting was to visible issues.

But, hard thinker that he was, the sage of the North did more than state the problem and proclaim the conflict. He waged the strife and won certain trophies, some sure conclusions, which remained. To Wordsworth's recognition of the presence of God in man and in nature, an eternal spirit of life, and power, and beauty, Carlyle added the emphatic affirmation of God in human life, in history—an eternal ordering Power that loves only righteousness and will have righteousness, justice, and truth prevail in the world. To Carlyle the universe remained always a vast, an overpowering mystery. But on this conception of it, as the Everlasting God's, he never lost his grasp. It was his religion, the faith that dominated his whole thinking. From this conception springs his doctrine of "natural supernaturalism." What simplest thing can we wholly explain? We understand not the commonest occurrences; they are marvellous, miraculous. How, understanding nothing, can we partition God's universe, and speak of this portion as natural and that as supernatural? The universe is one, and not mechanically divided. All is supernatural, all is natural. "The universe,"—this is the ever-present thought with Carlyle, and to Goethe he was indebted for it—"the universe is but one vast symbol of God; nay, if thou wilt have it so, what is man himself but a Symbol of God?"

*Sartor Resartus*, which contains the whole of Carlyle's philosophy, is, I re-

peat, one of the century's books of greatest import, a book of wonderful suggestive and stimulating quality, of marvelous insight and force. Its influence is to be traced in every thinker of note of the century. For poet, philosopher, preacher it has been a veritable seed-plot of ideas. Browning, Ruskin, Tennyson, Emerson—the greatest have been the greatest borrowers from this little book. And each in some way advanced beyond the master and enlarged the territory of faith and strengthened the positions already gained. Carlyle's conception of God is that of a Hebrew prophet—a stern, just lawgiver, infinite Power. Browning's conception is Christian. Like Wordsworth he has a clear and constant recognition of God's love; he discerns that the eternal spirit is not only the author of moral order of righteousness but also of beauty. Beauty, love, and goodness he finds united everywhere in the order of divine providence.

"O world as God has made it! All is beauty!  
And knowing that is love, and love is duty."

It could not be otherwise, if we accept Browning's fundamental conception. The immanence of God in the world—a conception to which he gives frequent and distinct utterance.

In "Paracelsus" he says:

"God dwells in all  
From life's minute beginnings up at last to man."

And again in "La Saisiaz":

"God is seen God  
In the star, in the stone, in the flesh, in the soul, in the clod."

So run his utterances of this doctrine. The significance of this view of God's relation to the world and the world's relation to God, is set forth in the words of Dr. Edward Caird in his *Evolution of Religion* (Vol. I., p. 196):

"We cannot, indeed, think of Him [God] as external to anything, least of all to the spiritual beings, who, as such, 'live and move and have their being in Him.' This idea of the immanence of God underlies the Christian conception; and if

we look below the surface, we can see that it is an idea involved in all modern philosophy and theology."

I accept that with all its implications and corollaries as true. It is fundamental, far-reaching as the universe of thought, illuminating as the sun. Browning therefore affirms that "all is right with the world." And of evil in man, he makes the sage Ferishtah sum up the results of his studies, which have encompassed the whole range of humanity, in these words:

"Of absolute and irretrievable  
And all-subduing black—black's soul of black  
Beyond white's power to disintify,—  
Of that I saw no sample."

This is Browning's much-talked-of optimism. It is thorough, unqualified, all-inclusive, and based upon a philosophical conception of the universe.

"The three men who did most abhor  
Their life in Paris yesterday  
[Have] killed themselves . . .  
I thought, and think, their sins atoned."

That is uttered in *propria persona*,—it is Browning's own conviction. He continues:

"My own hope is, a sun will pierce  
The thickest cloud earth ever stretched;  
That after Last, returns the First,  
Though a wide compass round be fetched;  
That what began best, can 't end worst,  
Nor what God blessed once, prove accurst."

To be sure Browning recognizes the fact of pain, but what is it but a bond uniting man to man in sympathy and mutual helpfulness? It is discipline, also, and a "sting that bids us nor sit nor stand but go!" Therefore he cries "Be our joys three-parts pain!" Hindrance and obstacle—they lie in every path, to be sure, but by them we mount nearer to God.

"Then welcome each rebuff,  
That turns earth's smoothness rough."

But does not evil meet us on every hand? Yes. No. Not an absolute, positive force, or entity. What we call evil is deficiency, the absence of good—it shall vanish, while the good shall increase.

"There shall never be one lost good! What was,  
shall live as before;  
The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying  
sound;  
What was good shall be good, with, for evil, so  
much good more;  
On the earth the broken arcs; in the heaven, a perfect round."

These are the doctrines of Browning, reiterated in numberless poems.

"God 's in his heaven,  
All 's right with the world."

The doubts and fears raised by the science of the century find nowhere a more consummate and telling utterance than in Tennyson's "Two Voices" (published in 1842). Every reason which man has entertained for believing in a future existence is there, as with the intellectual superiority and logical masterfulness of a devil, taken away by the unsparing Voice of Skepticism. The soul in helpless defeat is driven from trusted stronghold after stronghold till at last it flings itself upon inward conviction:

"A little hint to solace woe,  
A hint, a whisper breathing low,  
'I may not speak of what I know.'

Like an Æolian harp that wakes  
No certain air, but overtakes  
Far thought with music that it makes:

Such seemed the whisper at my side:  
'What is it thou knowest, sweet voice?' I cried.  
'A hidden hope,' the voice replied."

And to all the First Voice's cunningly insinuating suggestions of self-delusion, to all its triumphant arguments coming so pat and sneeringly, this is the ultimate response of the Voice of Faith: "A hidden hope." And yet though it speaks not from knowledge, not out of fixed assurance, only of "a hidden hope," yet it is a voice

"So heavenly-toned that, in that hour  
From out my sullen heart a power  
Broke, like the rainbow from the shower,

To feel, although no tongue can prove,  
That every cloud that spreads above  
And veileth love, itself is love."

Huxley paid Tennyson the high compliment of being the only poet since Lucretius who had a thorough comprehension of the drift of science. Whether we agree



or not that Tennyson alone had such a comprehension, we can still perceive that he at least had it as fully as anyone of the century. He has undoubtedly given expression to all the great results of science or reflected the influence of those results in his poetry. And more than this, he seems to have anticipated the scientists in many matters of first importance. "In Memoriam" is, of course, the production in which Tennyson's views find their most perfect expression. "In Memoriam" is the record of Tennyson's spiritual conflicts, of his wrestlings with doubts, and of his victory over them, as "Sartor Resartus" is Carlyle's.

"He fought his doubts and gathered strength,  
He would not make his judgment blind,  
He faced the spectres of the mind  
And laid them: thus he came at length  
To find a stronger faith his own."

Remembering that "In Memoriam" was published in the exact middle of the century—that it was being written during the first ten years that Darwin was at work upon the *Origin of Species* and was published nine years in advance of that book—let us note a few of the correspondences between the thoughts of the poem and the conclusions of contemporary science. Above all let us see what answers are made to the newly-raised doubts,—newly raised, but not new; for what doubts are not as old as Job or as Adam? And the really valid answer,—is that not as primeval, being native to the soul as the doubt is to the mind? Then, of immortality, the theme of the poem, thus he speaks:

"My own dim life should teach me this,  
That life shall live forevermore,  
Else earth is darkness at the core,  
And dust and ashes all that is."

Those who have read the late Professor Fiske's *The Destiny of Man Viewed in the Light of His Origin* will recognize this as substantially the argument of that very powerful monograph. If man is not to endure beyond death, so runs the philosopher's reasoning, then what purpose can be assigned to this world? If the universe is a rational system, a pur-

pose there must be in every part of it. The purpose, therefore, of our planet must be fulfilled, if at all, in the highest creature, man. Otherwise, "the mind is put to perpetual confusion." Tennyson's language, as he continues, expresses this very idea:

"This round of green, this orb of flame,  
Fantastic beauty; such as lurks  
In some wild poet, when he works  
Without a conscience or an aim."

What recognition do we find of the fact of evil, of suffering of the perishing of millions of lives in the vain struggle for existence? What answer to the doubts raised by such disturbing facts? It is in lyrics 54, 55 and 56 of the poem:

"O, yet we trust that somehow good  
Will be the final goal of ill,  
To pangs of nature, sins of will,  
Defects of doubt, and taints of blood;

That nothing walks with aimless feet;  
That not one life shall be destroy'd,  
Or cast as rubbish to the void,  
When God hath made the pile complete;

That not a worm is cloven in vain;  
That not a moth with vain desire  
Is shrivell'd in a fruitless fire,  
Or but subserves another's gain.

Behold, we know not anything;  
I can but trust that good shall fall  
At last—far off—at last, to all,  
And every winter change to spring.

So runs my dream; but what am I?  
An infant crying in the night;  
An infant crying for the light,  
And with no language but a cry.

The wish, that of the living whole  
No life may fail beyond the grave,  
Derives it not from what we have  
The likest God within the soul?

Are God and Nature then at strife,  
That Nature lends such evil dreams?  
So careful of the type she seems,  
So careless of the single life,

That I, considering everywhere  
Her secret meaning in her deeds,  
And finding that of fifty seeds  
She often brings but one to bear,

I falter where I firmly trod,  
And falling with my weight of cares  
Upon the great world's altar-stairs  
That slope thro' darkness up to God,



I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,  
And gather dust and chaff, and call  
To what I feel is Lord of all,  
And faintly trust the larger hope.

—  
'So careful of the type?' but no.  
From scarped cliff and quarried stone  
She cries, 'A thousand types are gone;  
I care for nothing, all shall go.'

Thou makest thine appeal to me:  
I bring to life, I bring to death;  
The spirit does but mean the breath:  
I know no more.' And he, shall he,

Man, her last work, who seem'd so fair,  
Such splendid purpose in his eyes,  
Who roll'd the psalm to wintry skies,  
Who built him fanes of fruitless prayer,

Who trusted God was love indeed  
And love Creation's final law—  
Tho' Nature, red in tooth and claw  
With ravine, shriek'd against his creed—

Who loved, who suffer'd countless ills,  
Who battled for the True, the Just,  
Be blown about the desert dust,  
Or seal'd within the iron hills?

No more? A monster then, a dream,  
A discord. Dragons of the prime,  
That tear each other in their slime,  
Were mellow music match'd with him.

O life as futile, then, as frail!  
O for thy voice to soothe and bless!  
What hope of answer, or redress?  
Behind the veil, behind the veil."

What application has the doctrine of  
cosmic evolution? What bearing upon  
the soul?

"Eternal process moving on  
From state to state the spirit walks,  
And these are but the shattered stalks  
Or ruined crystal of one."

The great law of physics announced first  
in the nineteenth century as "the Con-  
servation of Energy," lends support to  
the doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

The last stanza of "In Memoriam" is  
the grandest in its summary of philosophic  
thought that the literature of the century  
affords. It sums up the ultimate con-  
ceptions of the faith and science of our  
time in a few great words:

"That God who ever lives and loves,—  
One God, one law, one element,  
And one far off divine event  
Toward which the whole creation moves."

"One law, one element," that is the unity

of nature, the prevalence and harmony  
of law; "one event," that is the rational  
design, the purpose of the whole; "one  
God who ever lives and loves," that is the  
assertion of eternal providence. It is a  
remarkable fact that Tennyson was aided  
to this triumphant conception of the world  
by that very science which first caused  
his perplexities.

George Eliot, when asked what influ-  
ence had first unsettled her faith, replied,  
"Walter Scott's." This must seem to  
most persons a surprising answer. How  
could the romancer whose delight it was  
to idealize the past be an unsettling in-  
fluence? It was rather Sir Walter's  
mission to glorify the faith, the heroism,  
the manners and institutions of by-gone  
ages and so to increase reverence for  
antiquity, for authority and tradition.  
His influence, apparently, should be the  
opposite of that attributed to him. What  
explanation, then, do we find of George  
Eliot's answer? It is given by her latest  
biographer, Mr. Leslie Stephen, in the  
following language: "Scott shows as  
little sectarian zeal as Shakespeare. The  
division between good and bad does not  
correspond in his pages with the division  
between any one church and its antago-  
nists. The qualities which he admires  
—manliness, patriotism, unflinching loy-  
alty, and purity of life—are to be found  
equally among Protestants and Catholics,  
Roundheads and Cavaliers. The wide  
sympathy which sees good and bad on all  
sides makes it difficult to accept any ver-  
sion of the doctrine which supposes salva-  
tion to be associated with the acceptance  
of a dogma." Now, every reader of Scott  
will at once admit this to be true of that  
great man. He was truly catholic in  
sympathy, and he was too sane a thinker  
to make dogmas the controlling forces in  
human character. A man's destiny  
springs not from these, but from far deep-  
er sources. These are but badges and  
decorations. Inevitably one thinks of a  
later countryman of Scott's—"Ian Mac-  
laren"—and his charming sketches of  
Scottish life, and straightway remembers

that the "doctor of the old School," this writer's favorite and chief creation, was not a member of the Kirk,—not a "Christian," and yet the most Christ-like of all his characters. Such a fact as this is immensely significant. The world's great free writers have not applied the figments of theologians as tests of men or women. They have looked directly at the life. Sect and creed have counted for nothing.

The explanation that Sir Leslie Stephen gives of Scott's influence on George Eliot, therefore, explains every true and great artist—explains George Eliot herself, one of the profoundest intelligences of the century. As soon as she had recovered her equipoise after her revolt from orthodoxy, she began to feel that broad and generous sympathy with "any faith in which human sorrow and human longing for purity have expressed themselves," which characterized her more and more throughout life and which pervades all her books. By virtue of this sympathy and the profound intelligence that accompanied it, the century has not a better interpreter of human nature, from the central point-of-view of religion, than George Eliot. She has penetrated more deeply into the secret chambers of the average soul and has more faithfully represented its workings than any other writer of her time. Whoever would understand the full scope and force of religion in the lives of common people, let him read George Eliot. As an interpreter of the lives that so deeply interested her, she has written some of the most philosophical chapters of the natural history of religion. And the spirit by which she was moved in all this was precisely the spirit of Sir Walter Scott, of Shakespeare, of every true and great artist—the catholic spirit of humanity.

Religious thought in the last century, lost much of its materialism, its crudity. For example, a material hell—a common teaching of the pulpit within my own youthful memory—is no more believed in to-day than a material heaven: a spir-

itualistic conception of both is found adequate. But this conception needs to be more firmly grasped and more powerfully presented in accordance with present-day science. The conception of rewards and punishments has been transformed and purified and greatly corroborated by a deeper study of law, both physical and moral, in these times. But a material heaven and a material hell have vanished from men's thoughts.

The mechanical conception of inspiration has likewise yielded to a view in keeping with the doctrine of divine immanence. "The human race is inspired," as Dr. Jowett says. No longer does the question of miracles greatly engage the thoughts of the educated. Agreement upon what constitutes a miracle being found impossible, and proof and disproof alike impossible, the whole matter has dropped out of discussion and practically out of men's thoughts. Faith has a truer foundation than miracles. God in nature and in man transcends the whole question infinitely.

The age in which we live is thoroughly skeptical on this matter. Many of the most religious minds have rejected them altogether. Not that they deny the supernatural—a power transcending nature—but for them, "God is all in all," "God worketh all in all." He fills all with his presence and power. As this doctrine of divine immanence has come to obtain, all partial conceptions of God's self-manifestations, the views that limit His appearing and reigning to particular times, places, and circumstances, have yielded, proving inadequate. The doctrine of an incarnation in one unique person, for example, has lost much of its hold upon the general mind, but the idea of God in humanity has strengthened. It appears very difficult for the mind, in the present stage of thought, to conceive the God of the universe as entering into the womb of a woman, being born as a child, and living and acting in the world as a man. Such formulas are still held to by professional theologians, but the

educated lay mind is no longer moved by them. It is either passively indifferent, emphatically unbelieving, or impatiently scornful,—the particular attitude depending upon temperament, education, experience, or other circumstances. For example, what a strange and far-away sound has such language as this, found in a recent book on *The Incarnation*: "Jesus Christ is the only man of our race who ever chose to be born into it." Now, that is striking rhetoric, worthy of Tertullian, or the author of *Cur Deus-Homo*: but it sounds strangely to a modern ear. Equally strange, equally foreign to our present thinking, is this language taken from a companion volume on *The Personality of the Holy Spirit*:

"Perhaps the most notable proof of the personality of the Holy Spirit is his contribution to the literature of the world. He was the author of letters; and the earliest of the world's literature, as certainly the most influential, was that which came to us from the world's first and greatest Thinker. His first theme was what we might expect—the poem of creation, as he sings of what none other can more than imagine, but of what he was witness." (Page 85.)

These utterances, I am confident, do not represent the thinking of educated preachers in general.

The century's leaders of thought in the Church, the scientists, the poets, the critics,—all held substantially the same liberal views, for they were the children of one age, and were breathed upon in their cradles by the same spirit. But there was this difference: the poets and scientists were untrammelled as the churchmen were not; they could utter the thing they thought. True, there was, even for them, a price to pay, but they had the moral courage and nobleness to pay it, for the boon of being free and speaking truth. They all—poets, preachers, scientists and historical critics alike—

abandoned the theory of a specially inspired and authoritative book; they all gave up miracles; they all came to rest finally—if rest they found—upon the assurance of their own consciousness. The Bible was for them but literature—a book among books. They appealed not to it as a final authority, they reasoned altogether independently of it. "Revealed religion" and "natural religion" there was for them no such distinction. All genuine religion was natural to the human heart, sprang out of human life, was the expression of human needs and the counterpart of human nature. There was no division of truth into "inspired" and "uninspired," "divine" and "human." There was no division of events into "natural" and "supernatural." Such conceptions of necessity vanished in the era of science and enlightenment. The doctrine of evolution, potent before the day of the *Origin of Species*, swept away these fictitious partition walls.

In America all our leaders, our poets particularly,—Emerson, Whittier, Lowell and Longfellow,—were representatives of the new era of freedom. The inheritors of a sturdy type of religion, they retained but its moral character, its staunch independence,—they utterly repudiated its theology. Eternal goodness, and Christ as example and master—their faith encompassed but these two doctrines. The influence of their attitude and of their spirit of faith without dogma has told immensely upon the religious thought of our country. A movement toward freedom and a purer and nobler faith was led by them, and we all have in a measure followed, seeing truth in a new way. They are the chief glory of America, these men of light and leading, our emancipators. The future belongs wholly to them, when the truth shall make us free, like them.

ROBERT T. KERLIN.

Warrensburg, Mo.

## THE SINGLE-TAX.

BY JOHN Z. WHITE.

"ALL HUMAN things do require to have an ideal in them," said Carlyle. This is true. But, like the sayings of so many philosophers, it is but partial truth. Human things, like all other things, require poise, balance, equilibrium; that is, a due proportion of their essential constituents. Without oxygen we have no water. Without ideality we have nothing human. Just as surely, with oxygen, minus other essentials, we have no water; and with ideality, minus other attributes, we have nothing human.

Things human must contain an ideal; as certainly they must involve emotions; just as emphatically, they must be practical. Without ideality, justice will be wanting—and justice alone is permanent. Power is requisite to all achievement, and power is found in emotions alone. Still, no matter how great be the power, no matter how just the cause, failure will be the certain issue in the absence of practical method.

Most appeals for a better adjustment of social forces, because of over-emphasis of one essential, have failed of success through lack of equilibrium.

For example, consider the tariff agitation. Emotion was excited, to be sure, although it was the emotion of wrath against oppression, not the emotion of joy or pleasure aroused by contemplation of the normal or beautiful. When presented in the guise of free trade, this appeal has always lacked the essential of practicability, for free traders of the usual sort have not proposed a rational method for providing an adequate revenue. When presented in the guise of tariff reform the appeal has lacked ideality, for it proposed a distinctly dishonest plan for raising public funds. Not only did tariff reform propose to continue a dishonest system, but, to maintain its own

position, it was under the necessity of itself demonstrating this dishonesty. The tariff reformer is compelled to show the essential dishonesty of a high tariff, and to do this must advocate the principle of free trade. Having proved his case, he proceeds to assure his hearers that he has no intention of practicing honesty, but would utilize the theory he has just overthrown—pleading, however, that he will be content with a less amount of plunder.

Free coinage of silver, with gold at a given ratio, is not so bad as gold monometalism, but is it anything more than to say to the mine-owners: "You shall have a market, maintained by law, for all you may dig from the earth; but those who dig vegetables must take the chances of traffic"? What ideal is here presented other than the ideal involved in tyranny? The reader will perceive that the criticism applies with still greater force to the gold-standard policy.

In spite of the manifest insufficiency of most proposals offered for social relief, some will insist that our troubles find their source in the limitations and perverse tendencies of human nature. To this oft-repeated assertion one can only reply, Human nature, so far as we know, is as it always was and will always be. People will act differently in different circumstances. To a degree we control our environment. Let us give our attention to that same environment and accept human beings as we find them. If there is anything wrong with them, you, my friend, may rest satisfied that you did not make them. You did not know enough. Therefore in that direction you are not responsible.

We make articles of food, clothing and shelter. Therefore, we know how. Therefore, again, it is possible for us to examine the processes by which they are



made and to arrive at a conclusion which shall be based on assured knowledge—not guessed at.

Looking over the field, we find that for many years the press has furnished tales of public wrong, involving, of course, private misfortune and often misery and wretchedness—even death. Some years ago we were told of Tweed; riders on river and harbor bills—not to inquire too particularly as to the bills themselves; credit mobilier; whiskey frauds; later of Carnegie armor-plates, Cuban post-office steals, embalmed beef, etc. Just at present it is the System, whether as unearthed by Folk, defeated by LaFollette, Dunne or Douglas, or exposed by Miss Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens or Lawson.

For relief what are we offered that will comply with the requirements of "things human"? Populism is suggested, and besides being aggressive, it has polled many votes. It tells us that bankers charge too much interest; therefore the government must become a money-lender. Oil refiners exact too high prices; therefore the state must become an oil refiner. Warehouse managers speculate in and falsely grade cereals; therefore the government—but why continue? This is merely patchwork. It is the adoption by populists of the socialistic method of cutting knots they are unable to untie.

Even Mr. Roosevelt, in his late message declares that "the question of transportation lies at the root of all industrial success." He seems wholly unconscious of the fact that things must be made before they can be transported. Are there no essential conditions to this "making"?

Nor is this mental attitude peculiar to socialists and populists. The whole mass of restrictive laws with which we are burdened is of the same parentage. Legal attempts to regulate interest; to improve morals; to promote trade; to compel posterity to pay part of the expense incident to making public improvements, are all exhibitions of the same sort of stupidity. Law can keep the peace, or, in other words, prevent some men from

interfering with the legitimate industry of other men. Law can also establish and maintain an honest system of land-holding. Beyond these, law can do nothing other than to hamper and hinder industry.

In order, therefore, that we may obtain a comprehensive view of industrial affairs, let us call to mind those fundamental facts of human life which we all know, but usually choose not to admit, even to ourselves. The constitution of the State of Illinois very truthfully expresses the thought that a frequent recurrence to first principles is necessary for the preservation of liberty.

The most obvious fact of human existence is that each man, woman or child must consume certain physical things—or die. (There is always the alternative suggested by Epictetus and endorsed by Schopenhauer.) These physical things are known as food, clothing and shelter. Each of these articles is a product of human toil. But human toil alone cannot produce. The toiler must be in possession of the elements (or some of them) of which the earth is composed. This simple, obvious fact is overlooked (or evaded) by nearly all who complain of, or attempt to explain, existing social conditions. It is vastly to the credit of Carlyle that he neither overlooked nor evaded. He said: "It is very strange, the degree to which these truisms are forgotten in our day."

In short, land (meaning the elements of which the earth is composed) and labor (meaning human energy expended in making articles of food, clothing and shelter) are the factors of all physical wealth. All physical things passing through the markets of the world are results of labor applied to land. Most people will agree that land is used at the beginning of all processes of production, but seem not clearly to perceive that it is vital at every step. To make bread we must use land to grow grain. Just as surely we must use land to transport it, to grind it, to bake it. The same is true in all forms of production. Labor and



land are absolutely necessary at each point in every productive process.

If each individual had equal opportunity to join in the processes of production it would seem that just distribution would certainly follow. But here is the rub. Each individual has not this equal opportunity. Land is private property. Production is absolutely impossible without land. It inevitably follows that those who own land are able to demand from laborers a part of the product in return for permission to use their land. For this payment by laborers land-owners make no return—save permission as noted, and it will doubtless be admitted that this payment might possibly be great enough to leave workers with a very small remainder, a remainder so small, in fact, that they could properly be classed with the "worthy poor."

That part of the product that is paid to the land-owners is called "rent." The balance is known as "wages"—being the return for industry, of whatever grade. It should be noted that payments made for the use of buildings are not rent—are, instead, wages.

The term "wages" is used in common speech to indicate the reward of employed men. But when considering industry in general it must be given a wider meaning. To illustrate. A man rents a farm, paying one-third of the crop to the owner. The remainder is the reward of his toil, and is therefore his wages. He may have employed others to aid him, but his reward, as well as theirs, is wages. Again, the Deering reaper concern is helping to gather grain, and therefore is a producer, and so is a receiver of wages as truly as is its modest employer. Again, to produce one thousand bushels of wheat worth one dollar per bushel is, through exchange, to acquire capacity to secure a diamond worth one thousand dollars. That is, to produce wealth in one form is equivalent to producing it, to like value, in all forms. So, a man raising wheat in Dakota is in effect catching fish on the banks of Newfoundland, provided, of course, he wants

fish. If he prefers a carriage, then his toil at producing wheat is equivalent to mining iron and coal, making paint, manufacturing all the various articles included in the finished vehicle. The growing of wheat is thus equivalent to making the carriage, because such toil secures, through exchange, possession of the vehicle, just as would the direct application to the making of the conveyance.

Wealth, then, is one, although of many forms, and is produced by the application of labor to land, and is divided between producers and land-owners.

Rent is payment for the use of natural opportunity—for land. It follows from this division of wealth between producers and land-owners that the less of the total product of industry be taken as rent, the more will be left for wages; and conversely, the more be taken as rent the less will be left for wages. Those who own land upon which production occurs divide rent among themselves in proportion to the value of land held by each. Those who produce divide wages among themselves in proportion as each has contributed to production.

The ownership of the land thus having the same effect as the doing of work, that is, ownership of the product, all are trying to become land-owners. As a result of this endeavor, land is bought and held vacant in anticipation of future demand. (This is characteristic of every city in the United States.) If, now, we observe the necessary conditions of production, we shall know how very simple is the industrial problem. Men must use land—or die. Land is private property, with the necessary result that product is divided between land-owners and land-users. Holding some land vacant reduces the effective supply, and of course increases the value of that used—thereby artificially raising rent and reducing wages.

It is perfectly clear that the portion of wealth paid to land-owners is not theirs by right of toil—others did the work. Because of this plain fact most of the social reformers of history, under one or



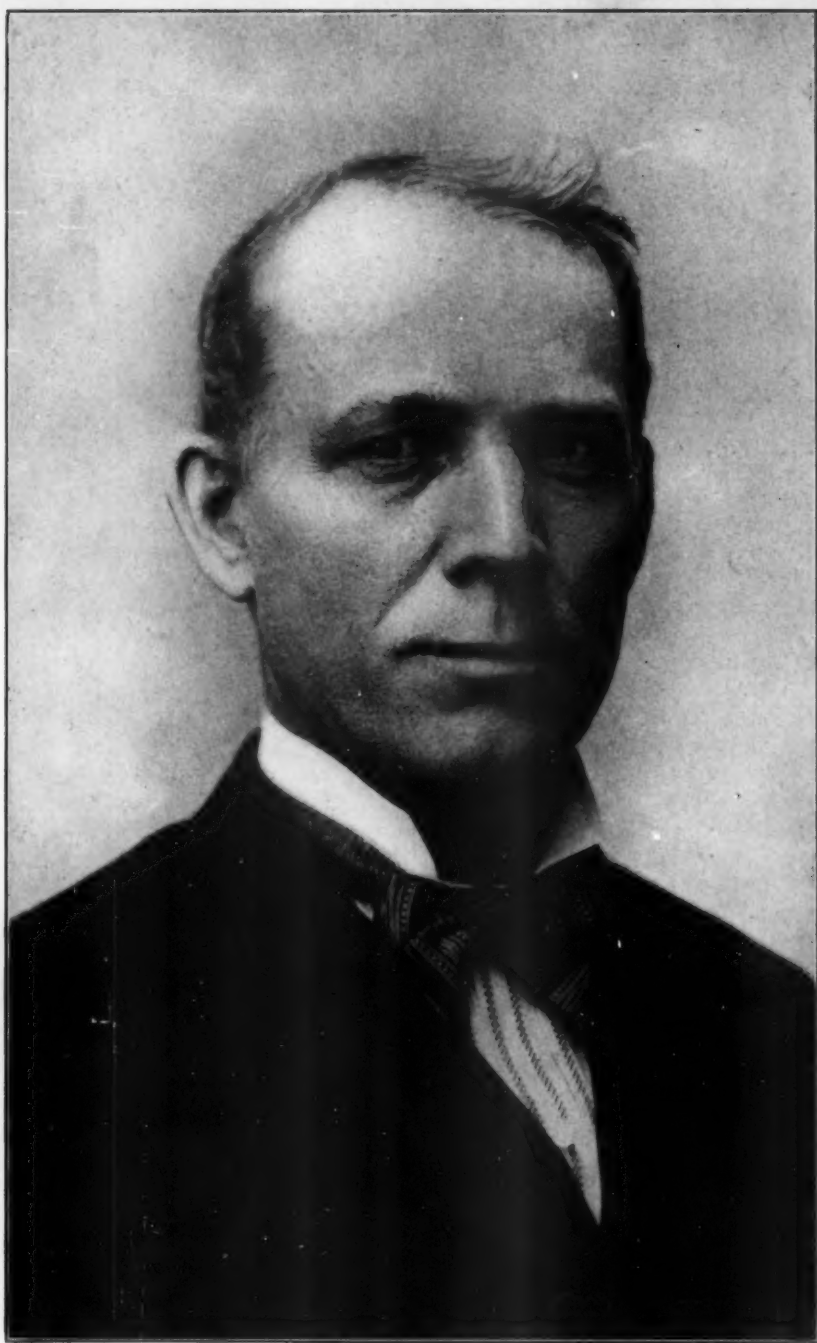


Photo. by Monfort, Chicago.

JOHN Z. WHITE

THE ARENA

another form, have proposed to make land common property. They have supported the demand by arguments based on both expediency and equity, but the great utility of private possession of land has been sufficiently powerful to resist their efforts.

Henry George has been widely charged with the desire and intention to make land common property, in spite of his statement in *Progress and Poverty*, Book VIII., that, "I do not propose either to purchase or to confiscate private property in land."

The difficulty with the proposal to make land common property is that while it conforms to justice—is ideal and satisfies the emotions, whether of wrath at present conditions or of joy at prospective ones, it does not meet the need of practicability. If the public owns and rents all land possessing value, we are immediately confronted with contractual relations between public officials and private parties—the condition precedent to all "graft." This arrangement might be very much better than that now obtaining, but would undoubtedly be "patchwork," and soon necessitate another remodelling. Taxing land values alone secures permanent possession and involves no contracts between officials and citizens. It will occasion no change of existing forms.

Single-Tax men call attention to the fact that ownership of land is not important, save as it leads to ownership of products. The owner of land is able to secure products as rent. May it not be possible to recover these products without destroying private property in land?

This inquiry raises the question of the right to property. On what does the right to property justly rest? What ought to be the basis of possession? What is "ideal"? The irksomeness of toil must be endured in order that anything be made. Who ought to receive the benefit, or become the owner of the product? Surely one may be forgiven if he is inclined to assert that the individual, or group of individuals, who do the

necessary work ought to receive the reward. If there be other equitable basis for the institution of private property, it has not been promulgated; and yet newspapers have credited Carnegie with saying that the greatest surprise of his life was when he "realized that the man who did the work was not the man who got rich." Mr. Carnegie perceived the certain effect of the private appropriation of rent, though very likely without apprehending the nature of the thing perceived.

If work is the rightful basis of private property, or, in more sounding phrase, if tenure be the prerogative of toil, and our Scotch friend found that to become rich he must do something other than work, may we not fairly claim that existing property relations are in a degree defective?

It would appear, then, that common property in land is ideal, but impracticable; that private appropriation of ground rent is wholly lacking in ideality, but seems at first to be unavoidable, as it apparently is a consequence of private property in land. Here is the paradox.

It is, nevertheless, easy of solution. Any large group of people—as the United States—living in a civilized condition, must maintain government. They must keep the peace,—that is, exercise police power. They must maintain some form of land tenure. Whatever be decided upon as the better mode of holding land—whether in common or in severalty—only government (*i. e.*, the majority of the people) is competent to its enforcement. Instituting and administering the police power and the tenure of land are the "necessary" acts of sovereignty. Otherwise civilization is not possible.

Public or governmental functions are carried into execution only by men, and these must be compensated by those who receive the benefit. To secure the wherewithal to make such payment, a public revenue is necessary. In short, taxation (that is, the collecting of a public fund) is an inevitable condition of civilized life.

As indicated, all wealth is distributed

as rent or wages. It follows that all payments must come from one of these funds. Taxes, therefore, must be paid out of one or the other; or, of course, be derived partly from each. The proposal of Single-Tax men is that public revenue be taken wholly from the rent fund. This plan is believed to be ideal, forceful and practical.

It is ideal in that it secures each one in the ownership of the wealth his labor may produce, with no burden or tribute in any form, save the one subtraction of ground-rent (and this only when he occupies land possessing value). And this is true whether he toils alone or in voluntary association with others. If, then, rent be recovered by taxation and used for the common benefit, it would seem that none would be able to possess wealth not equitably acquired. It is ideal in that it strictly conforms to the only concept ever put forward as the rightful basis of the institution of private property.

The question arises: Does each contribute equally to the rent fund, and thereby become equally entitled to share in public benefits? As before stated, land tenure is one of the functions of government. It is an unavoidable expression of sovereignty. Each man in a community is bound to support its sovereignty—even though he does not agree with the majority. It is only by virtue of this assertion of sovereignty that any one in a community can enjoy peace and security of property. Nature compels us thus to associate. We hold, then, that the benefits of that common association, which nature compels, should be shared in common. The Single-Tax will secure to each that which is his individual product, whether his effort be made alone or in voluntary coöperation and it will secure to the public that to which no individual or voluntary association can establish just claim. It is ideal.

The Single-Tax appeals to the emotions because it reveals a beneficent order in society. It confirms belief in a divine

order. It points the way whereby tyranny may be dissipated from among men. It destroys the fear of want, and thereby allows men to be free in fact. Thus it makes the field of natural opportunity a reality to each and all. When we realize that just as we have more air than we can by any possibility use, so have we more land than many times the present population of the earth could utilize, we may form some concept of the mighty possibilities the Single-Tax would open to the race.

Are not the glories of the modern world wholly due to the overthrow of old forms whereby the native impulses of humanity were suppressed? Have we not freedom of conscience as a result of the overthrow of feudal power? Is not equal participation in government a like result? Is not freedom of the person from serfdom and chattel bondage a like achievement? Is not all of which we may fairly boast in the modern day due to the breaking of the feudal lord's grip? That grip still holds the land. The Single-Tax will break this, his last hold. With its inauguration will vanish the curse that has blighted the earth—the power of some men to control the lives of others. With the advent of "the simple yet sovereign remedy" will come an era of peace, good will, kindness. No longer will any one be able truthfully to say, as did Robert Burns: "We are placed here amid so much nakedness, and hunger, and poverty, and want, that we are under a cursed necessity of studying selfishness in order that we may *exist*!"

The Single-Tax appeals to the imagination; it excites the emotions, both against wrong and for the right; it is forceful, and it will come.

It is practical for many reasons. It is in accord with our civilization. Land is held now in fee-simple, which is a lease—or holding in perpetuity, subject to such tax as the state may levy. This tenure the Single-Tax would continue—thus it is not a change in social institution, but in the administration of institution.



Most men appear not to realize the fact that nearly all fundamental law is now in agreement with Single-Tax ideals. In *Providence Bank vs. Billings* (4 Peters, 562), Chief Justice Marshall—who surely will not be credited with prejudices favorable to the great plain people—said, “the power of taxation may be carried so far as to absorb these profits” (referring directly to rent), and then asks, “Does this impair the obligation of contracts? The idea is rejected by all,” etc.

It is practical because it is in operation now, partly by the public and partly by land-owners. Rent makes its levy with certainty. To say that it is not practical is to decry the acumen of every land-owner in the world. It is practical because it is the one plan that conforms to the accepted canons of taxation,—namely, that a tax bear as lightly as possible upon production; that it be easily collected, and fall as directly as may be upon the ultimate payers; that it be certain; that it bear equally.

The Single-Tax does not bear upon production at all, for the land-owners collect rent whether or not the public tax them. It is easily collected, for the land lies out of doors, and so cannot be hid, and its value is the only value that can be arrived at with approximate truth. It is the only tax capable of producing sufficient revenue that “falls directly upon the ultimate payers.” It cannot be shifted, for rent is a monopoly price. That is the chief reason many have for opposing it.

It is related that one Irishman said to another: “The Single-Tax ‘ud stop tax dodgin’.” The other replied: “Then what’s the objection to it?” “It ‘ud stop tax dodgin’.” “Oi understand, then why not adopt it?” “It ‘ud prevint tax dodgin’.” “That’s three toimes ye’ve tould me that. An’ Oi understood ye the furst toime, an’ Oi understood ye the second toime, an’ the third toime. Now, since ye’re so sure it would prevint tax dodgin’, what the divil’s the raison they do n’t put the Single-Tax in opera-

tion?” “Oi big your pardon, but Oi understood ye to ask me why do n’t they adopt the Single-Tax?” “An’ what the divil else did Oi ax ye?” “Well, then, for the fourth time—count ‘em—Oi’ll answer ye that the raison they do n’t adopt the Single-Tax is because it ‘ud prevint tax dodgin’.”

It is certain, because if all other sources of revenue be cut off, public officials cannot neglect this—they need the money. It will bear equally because each man is either land-owner or tenant, and in either capacity pays in rent just what the social advantage he enjoys is worth.

It is practical because our forms of government lend themselves to its easy adoption. Any state in the Union may adopt home-rule, or local option, in taxation; that is, enact a law whereby any city or town may levy taxes for its local revenue in such manner as it may choose. This is the measure already adopted in New Zealand with such happy results, and is in reality the only legal measure Single-Taxers ask for. Such act would permit any locality to try in a moderate way the value of our proposal, and its practicability would be demonstrated as is being done in New Zealand.

It may be observed that there is here no proposal to force this measure upon any community. There is only provided a method whereby any community may utilize the plan if it so desires. What honest man can say he does not believe in permitting a community to conduct its own affairs in its own way; but on the contrary believes that some communities need the benefit of his superior wisdom?

The Single-Tax is practical because nothing else can successfully meet existing monopoly conditions. If we secure relief at any other point in the field of production, rent will increase, and by this means the whole gain will disappear, so far as producers are concerned. When we cheapened transportation by substituting the steam-railway for the canal-boat and the ox-cart land values increased. If we make public utilities common prop-

erty, and thereby again reduce the cost of transportation and other public services, will the result be different? It is impossible to afford permanent relief to industry while the landlord's privilege remains unchecked.

The Single-Tax is absolutely in harmony with natural justice, as between man and man; it accords with those eternal and self-evident principles of

freedom that are the foundation of our American society; it is ideal; it is forceful; it is practical. It will make possible of realization the hope of the poet who sang:

"Then let us pray that come it may,  
As come it will, for a' that;  
That man to man, the warl' o'er,  
Shall brithers be, for a' that."

JOHN Z. WHITE.

*Chicago, Ill.*

## W. A. ROGERS: THE CARTOONIST OF CIVIC INTEGRITY.

### I.

THE CARTOONIST, to be a power, must have some dominant, definite or master-thought instinct with the higher aspirations of humanity or those moral verities upon which the permanency and growth of national life depend. The really great American cartoonists have all consciously or unconsciously yielded to the compulsion of moral idealism. They have instinctively fought the battle of the people to the extent that their envioning limitations permitted, and they have left or are leaving the impress of their individuality and idealism on the brain of the nation. They are among the most effective influences for civic righteousness and popular rights and justice in the present battle between the powers of greed and sodden selfishness and the higher aspirations of national life. Here, as in journalism and literature in general, there must be sincerity and high purpose to achieve any real greatness and leave a lasting and beneficent influence on the life of the age. The men who have been real factors for human advance and better government have not been those who merely studied to please the management of their journals, but in addition to filling the requirements of their positions they have thrown into

their work the aggressive moral element that has carried conviction to the minds of millions. In not a few instances they have declined lucrative positions because they would not prostitute their high talent in the service of interests they believed to be contrary to the welfare of their country.

If we mention any of the workers of the first rank, some well-defined mental picture or pictures will arise before the mind's eye. Thus the name of Thomas Nast suggests unceasing warfare against enthroned municipal greed; those of Davenport and Oppen bring before the mind the warfare against the brutal tyranny and oppression of the present-day commercial feudalism. In like manner the name of W. A. Rogers, the famous cartoonist of the New York *Herald*, suggests the unrelenting foe of the grafters and corruptionists in city, state and national government. We see the black-horse cavalry invading the temple of legislation, polluting the citadel of popular rule. We see Albany, that should be the throne of just law and the glory of the Empire State, a shame and a by-word, a sink of corruption; Albany with its venal legislature, the creature and tool of corrupt corporations; Albany, with its re-

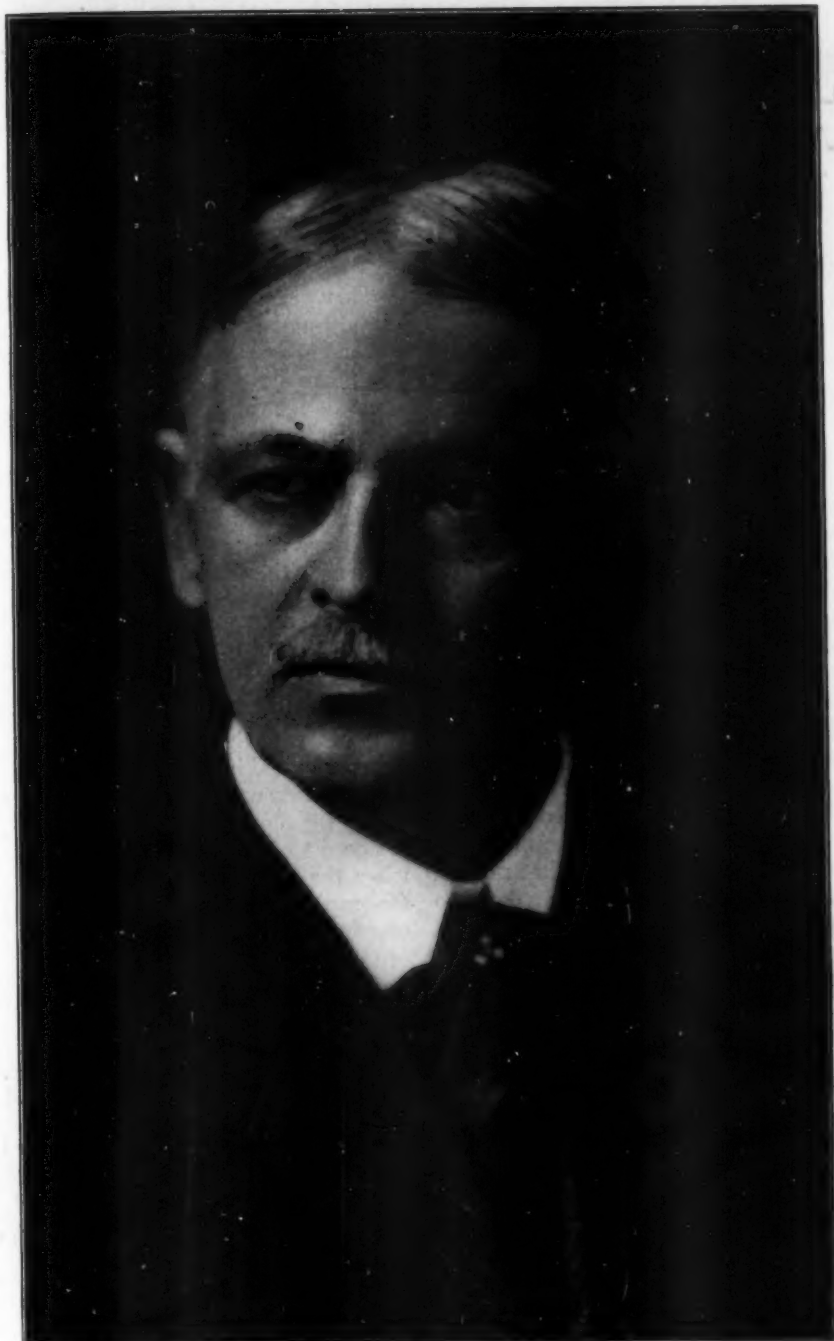


Photo. by Fach Bros., New York.

W. A. ROGERS



Rogers, in New York Herald.

## FEEDING THE HEATHEN.

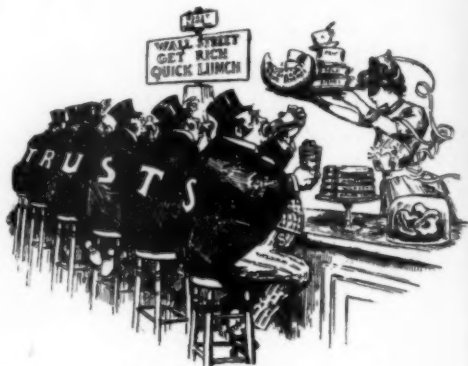
sort of degradation known as the "house of mirth," the headquarters for the distribution of the "yellow-dog soup"; Albany, where lobbies gather over a morally dead and corrupt body as vultures and birds of prey gather over the carcasses on the plains.

One idea has ever dominated Mr. Rogers in his work. He has battled resolutely for one great object—common honesty—something more needed to-day than ever before in our public life. We think it is quite safe to say that no less than eight-tenths of his cartoons have to do with graft, corruption and the betrayal of the people in the interests of privileged wealth. He has been the uncompromising, determined and tireless foe of all forms of civic dishonesty. His ideal of statecraft is high, and his realization of the fact that there is a cancer at the vitals of the nation, eating away the fabric of free government, destroying public morality and draining the resources of the millions, is so keen that his pictures speak volumes. In the columns of one of the greatest news-gatherers of the world and one of the most negative editorial papers of the age, Rogers' pictures are the most virile moral note present—the note that more than aught else compels the reader to take cognizance of the grave perils that are threatening national integrity.

Mr. Rogers' cartoons are usually calculated to provoke a smile, even when the picture cuts as a keen lance into a loathsome mass of corruption in the body politic. The artist believes that this is the most effective method of driving home the truth he seeks to impress on the public mind. On this point he recently said:

"My general idea of a cartoon is to hit cleanly and without undue exaggeration either in the idea or the drawing. If one can make a cartoon that the side ridiculed must laugh at in spite of themselves, then he has made the best kind of a cartoon and the most effective."

We are not altogether convinced that Mr. Rogers' conclusions are sound. We incline to think that it was some of the most brutally savage of the cartoons of Nast that compelled the citizens of New York to take cognizance of the wholesale and systematic corruption of the Tweed Ring. So we believe that when Davenport was with the *New York Journal and American*, making his powerful but brutal and somber cartoons, he was a greater power for moral progress than any other cartoonist of that day. There are times when the bludgeon is more effective than the rapier. Still, each method has its place and serves its purpose in the hands of men of high ideals and strong convictions.



Rogers, in New York Herald.

"A FEW UNDIGESTED SECURITIES."—J. P. MORGAN.



## II.

"The idea of drawing came to me as about the first thing I can remember. My mother was a skilful artist and taught me the simple elements of drawing at the same time that I learned my letters," remarked Mr. Rogers recently when in a reminiscent mood and in reply to a question from us. "I remember," he continued, "when I was fourteen years old I drew a number of small cartoons on wood, and an engraver in Dayton, Ohio, engraved them for a syndicate. So far as I know these were the first cartoons to be syndicated in the daily papers. They were drawn with a pen directly on the block."

In answer to the question, "What artist or art work exerted the greatest influence on you during your childhood?" Mr. Rogers replied:

"The first real impetus given to my ambition came at about this time, when a friend loaned me an excellently engraved set of Hogarth's works. The sturdy honesty of his characterization appealed to me at once and has been an inspiration ever since."

Mr. Rogers was born in Springfield,



Rogers, in *New York Herald*.

HE STRIVES TO PLEASE.



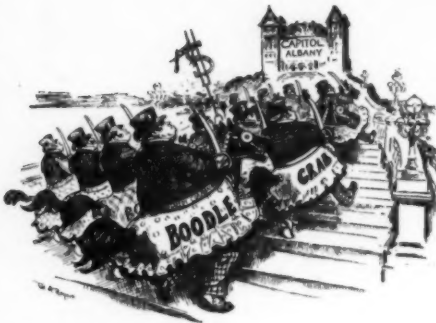
Rogers, in *New York Herald*.

BEGINNING TO BE AFFECTED BY THE ALTITUDE.

Ohio. His father was a prominent lawyer at a bar conspicuous for the ability and brilliance of its practitioners. Among the men of marked ability who were frequently opposed to or associated with the elder Rogers in cases before the Ohio circuit courts were Salmon P. Chase, Thomas Corwin, John Sherman and Samuel Shellabarger. At the time of his death, which occurred when he was only forty-four years of age, he was on the bench.

"I have always felt," said Mr. Rogers, "that my deep interest in public questions was a direct inheritance from him."

From the high-minded father, imbued with the sturdy spirit that marked so many of the strong men of the meridian period of the last century, the artist early learned to honor and respect fidelity to public trust and to abhor dishonesty and venality in every form, and especially when the corruption affected those in public life; for the elder Rogers had ever striven to impress his son with the idea that a public office was a trust doubly sacred in character: it was a position in which the honored individual had been confided by trusting citizens with their own interests, in the faith that they would be administered for the true benefit of those he was chosen to represent, while at the same time fidelity to the trust was imposed by the high demands of democratic government. So long as the people's representatives spurned all forms of



Rogers, in New York Herald.

THE "BLACK HORSE CAVALRY" IS IN POSSESSION.

bribery, remaining faithful in the service of the people, the Republic would be the great moral and political beacon-light in the world of government. These great truths were impressed on the mind of the son ere the father died. They have lived in his imagination and are the vital moral power behind his pen.

In 1872 Mr. Rogers took up illustrating as a profession, and in 1873 he became a member of the staff of the New York *Daily Graphic*. Later he entered the employ of *Harper's Weekly*, where he contributed a number of excellent drawings, and in 1880 he drew a cartoon, during the Hancock campaign. It made an instantaneous hit. Since then, though he has made hundreds of drawings depicting passing events and illustrating stories, his cartoons have been in such



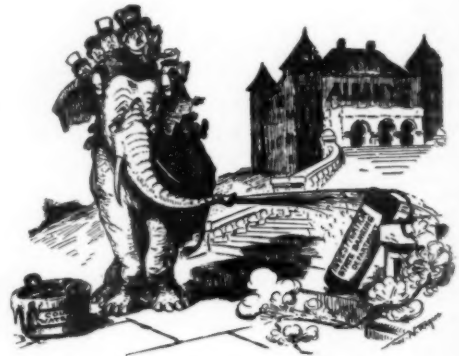
Rogers, in New York Herald.

A HELPING HAND.

demand that he has found it impossible to devote his entire attention to illustrating.

### III.

Many of Mr. Rogers' most effective cartoons have been directed against the riot of dishonesty that has made Albany almost as notorious a seat of corruption as Harrisburg has been since the public-service corporations and privileged interests of Pennsylvania gained complete control of the Republican political machine of the Keystone State. The battle between the friends of New York State, who strove to save the splendid forests of the Adirondacks, and the paper-trust



Rogers, in New York Herald.

"AN INVESTIGATION NOW WOULD BE A PUBLIC CALAMITY."

whose lobby was so perniciously active in Albany, called forth some telling cartoons fixing cleverly in the public mind the responsibility where it belonged—with the legislators at Albany and the rapacious trust.

The insurance scandals have served in recent months to show, as did the railway investigations of several years ago, how completely the most powerful and corrupt financial magnates of the great corporations control the legislature, through the bosses, the lobby, and by the selection of servile tools as candidates for the legislature. Several years ago, in the railway investigation, Jay Gould described how he paid liberally to secure the nomi-



Rogers, in New York Herald.

UNANIMOUS!

nation and election of representatives that would be favorable to the Erie Road. He contributed liberally to the fund for the election of any persons who would wear the Erie collar. In Republican districts, he declared, he was a Republican; in Democratic districts he was a Democrat; in doubtful districts he was doubtful; but, he added, "I am an Erie man all the time." And in that brutally frank confession the voters of America had given to them one of the master-keys to the amazing phenomenon of the systematic betrayal of the people by those sworn faithfully to represent their interests.

Mr. Platt recently confessed in the insurance investigation how he received contributions from the great insurance companies and admitted that the taking of the money implied a moral obligation to the insurance harpies; not to the policy-holders, it should be remembered, as the old safeguards that protected them were removed by the legislature at the instigation of the Wall-street insurance cormorants and gamblers who wanted to use the trust-funds of the policy-holders recklessly and wastefully, and who were ready to contribute vast sums to what is popularly known as the "yellow dog" fund, to debauch the people's servants and render themselves immune from punishment.

Naturally enough the insurance revelations afforded an admirable opportunity for Mr. Rogers' pen.

In a lighter vein are other cartoons, such as the one representing Uncle Sam pointing to the Monroe doctrine and addressing England and Germany, warning them that it is a live wire.

Another humorous cartoon that was very widely copied at the time was called forth by President Roosevelt assuming the entire management of the Republican nominating convention, when he indicated his choice for temporary chairman and permanent chairman and the general management of the convention, and when it was stated that he carefully scrutinized Mr. Black's fulsome eulogy of the president in his nominating speech, before it was delivered. Mr. Rogers hit off this matter in a cartoon representing Mr. Roosevelt as the whole convention from start to finish.

Several of his best cartoons have been directed against America's great gambling world and trust spawning-ground, Wall street. A typical drawing of this class was entitled "Undigested Securities" and was called forth by the famous remark of J. Pierpont Morgan when defending such notorious water-logged corporations as the ill-starred ship-trust.

In 1902, when President Roosevelt appeared to be desirous of having the



Rogers, in New York Herald.

PREPARED FOR THE WORST.



Rogers, in New York Herald.

WILL THE TAIL WAG THE ELEPHANT

tariff revised and was also vigorously pressing other measures for the relief of the people from the tyranny and oppression of the great trusts and monopolies, he encountered the fierce opposition of Depew, Hanna, Platt, Frye and other master-spirits of the Republican party. This suggested Mr. Rogers' famous cartoon representing Mr. Roosevelt on the elephant, following Uncle Sam out of the monopoly wilderness, but the elephant is retarded by the trust friends in the Senate and House who are represented as holding onto his tail and trying to prevent his advance. Under the picture is the query, "Will the tail wag the elephant?" In passing we may say that it certainly will so long as the Republican party depends on the trusts and the public-service corporations for enormous campaign funds.

Another notable cartoon of a national character was called forth when it appeared that President Roosevelt was going to push the postal fraud investigation to the very top of the department with sufficient vigor and alacrity to prevent the statute of limitation expiring before certain guilty ones could escape. In the cartoon the elephant and the postmaster-general, as they ascend the mountain of postal frauds, become seriously

and alarmingly affected by the height of the altitude.

Such are some typical examples of Mr. Rogers' excellent and suggestive work. His drawing is better than that of most of our cartoonists, though his pictures are not so powerful or compelling as have been some of Nast's, Beard's, Davenport's, Oppen's or Bush's. One reason for this doubtless lies in Mr. Rogers' theory of what constitutes the best cartoon. "One of the ideas I have followed as consistently as circumstances would permit," he recently observed, "is to make my points with a certain reserve; not to exaggerate the bad points of the enemy so much that on looking at the picture one instinctively says: 'No, he could n't possibly be as bad as that.'"

There is doubtless much to be said in favor of this position. Still, in times when moral turpitude is rife; times when free institutions are in peril from a rapidly growing plutocracy; times when the multitude are being exploited for the enormous enrichment of the few, whose power to plunder has been gained by corrupt practices, the strongest and boldest pictures are called for in order to arouse the public as a tocsin or alarm-bell in olden times aroused the sleeping populace in hours when a great and deadly danger appeared.



Rogers, in New York Herald.

UNCLE SAM—"THAT'S A LIVE WIRE, GENTLEMEN!"



## COLLEGE COÖPERATIVE STORES IN AMERICA.

By IRA CROSS.

ONE OF the most perplexing questions to the one hundred and thirty thousand students now attending the colleges and universities in the United States, is that old question of "How can I cut down expenses?" This problem has been partly solved in a most unique manner by the students of Yale, Harvard, Cornell, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Northwestern University and the State Universities of California, Illinois, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas and Wisconsin. In each of these institutions a "College Coöperative Book and Supply Store" has been organized, from which everything needed by the collegeman can be purchased. Books, stationery, athletic goods, college pins and pen-nants, drawing tools and photographic supplies are always to be found in stock in large quantities, while in some instances notably at Yale and Harvard, wood, coal, furniture and a complete line of men's furnishings are also handled.

Membership in these associations is obtained by the purchase of a participation card, the price of which varies from 50 cents to \$5.00. At the close of each college year, the profits of the company are usually divided among the holders of the membership cards upon a basis of the amount of goods purchased. It often happens that this dividend rises as high as 10 per cent. in cash and 13 per cent. in trade, which in addition to the low prices of the Coöperative Society means quite an annual saving to each member of the organization. Several of these associations sell goods at cost and declare no dividends. Yale, Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology have a system of "Affiliated Tradesmen," *i. e.*, retail dealers, who by special arrangement sell goods to members of these coöperative stores at a discount of from 5 per cent. to 40 per cent.

Harvard was the first university to experiment with a Students' Coöperative Society (1882), and so successful did it prove to be in operation that Yale followed her example a year later, while in 1885 the students of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology fell into line and organized a similar association. In the meantime some good Samaritan had carried the seed of coöperation far to the westward, with the result that a students' store was started at the University of California in 1884. From that day to the present time, the establishment of College Coöperative Societies has made slow but solid progress. To be sure there have been some failures, and the coöperative stores of the University of Indiana, Oberlin and Syracuse have been temporarily abandoned, but these failures have been due to the lack of efficient management and to the fierce competition of local merchants. When one realizes that the annual business of the largest and oldest of these stores amounts to more than \$200,000, while that of three others averages more than \$50,000, it is easily seen that even the skeptics have no grounds for doubting their marvelous success.

### HARVARD COÖPERATIVE SOCIETY.

As stated above, the Harvard Coöperative Society is the oldest and the largest of these institutions. Established in 1882 in the little Drury Office and employing but one clerk, it has grown with tremendous strides until to-day it owns and occupies a commodious four-story building on Harvard Square, the old Lyceum Hall property, and regularly employs a force of forty-two clerks, although during the rush of the first few weeks of each school-year this number often rises as high as seventy-five. In the twenty-three

years of its existence it has handed back to the members over \$100,000 as dividends, in spite of the fact that most of its goods are sold at almost cost prices.

The organization of the society is similar to that of any other business firm. A board of directors and other officers are elected annually by the members of the association and control its policy. Membership in the Society is open to any student or professor of Harvard University, Radcliffe College, and the Episcopal Theological School, as well as to the graduates of these institutions, and is obtained by the payment of an annual fee of \$1.00. This enables the holder of the membership card to share in the annual dividends of the Society and to enjoy the advantages of trading with the "Affiliated Retail Dealers." The latter feature alone induces many of the graduates residing in Boston and Cambridge to renew their membership in the Society each year in order that they may have the benefit of trading at reduced prices with these city merchants.

During the last year the association had 2,513 members and sold goods amounting in value to the enormous sum of \$238,315.14.

A veritable department store is this old Lyceum Hall!

The basement is fitted up with a complete line of men's furnishings, laboratory coats and rubber aprons, together with an extensive assortment of sporting and athletic goods, while the first floor is taken up with the offices of the company and the book and stationery departments. Books of all kinds and descriptions are to be found attractively displayed, ranging from current fiction, fancy-covered gift-books and standard literature to the heavy leather-bound volumes of the law-student and the costly imported treatises upon scientific subjects. If the book for which you are looking is not kept in stock, a daily messenger to Boston will bring it back with him, or if it has to be imported, one of the foreign correspondents of the Society will forward it to you from Lon-

don, Paris or Leipzig. What Harvard graduate does not remember the excellence of the "Coöp's" stationery, note-books and punched covers! So high-class are these articles that the Society does a wholesale business in them. Engraving, steel-die cutting and stamping are carried on in this department, as is also the sale of photographic supplies and toilet articles.

A display of furniture occupies the second floor. This portion of the company's business has become so large that it has been found advisable to issue an annual "Furniture Catalogue." The top-floor is taken up with the workshops of the Tailoring Department, which are under the supervision of an experienced manager.

Coal and wood are sold to the students in large or small quantities and last year resulted in \$17,653.93 being added to the income of the association.

The following table gives one an idea of the great amount of business transacted by this student organization during the last seven years.

STATEMENT OF THE HARVARD COÖPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Year.	Sales.	Amount of Dividends.	Rate of Dividends.
1899	\$170,477.36	\$.....	6.9 per cent.
1900	.....	.....	7.0 " "
1901	246,337.40	8,692.55	7.0 " "
1902	259,815.21	10,956.15	8.0 " "
1903	289,218.04	12,426.33	8.0 " "
1904	245,517.59*	5,294.70*	4.0 " "
1905	238,315.14	8,565.21	7.0 " "

\* Decrease in the receipts of this year due to the sale of the Medical Branch. The cost of fitting up Lyceum Hall was taken out of the net profits, which accounts for the decrease in dividends.

#### YALE COÖPERATIVE CORPORATION.

One year following the establishment of the Harvard Coöperative Society saw the beginning of the Yale Coöperative Corporation. Its growth, like that of its predecessor, has been very rapid, until to-day it has become an indispensable part of University life. A complete line of athletic goods, gymnasium supplies, toilet articles, text-books, knives, station-

ery, flags, pennants, etc., etc., is carried in stock and sold to members at cost, the receipts during the last college year amounting to \$60,504.72. Membership in the Corporation is obtained by the payment of \$2.00 for a one-year ticket, \$4.00 for three years, and \$5.00 for four years. This ticket also permits the members to trade with any of the thirty-five "Associated Tradesmen" who give a discount of from 5 per cent. to 30 per cent. upon all purchases. Ten clerks are regularly employed by the Corporation to serve the 1,200 members and all other persons who frequent the Society's store located in South Middle College.

## UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Four hundred and fifty members, sales amounting to \$54,651.58, and an annual dividend of 8 per cent. is the record of the Students' Coöperative Society of the University of California. This association was started in 1884 by the students and faculty members of the University because of the exorbitant prices charged them by the local merchants. Ever since its beginning it has had to meet the determined opposition of the latter. So bitter did this become last year that there were threats of introducing a bill in the legislature at their request calling for the abolition of the "Coöp."

This society is located in the basement of Old North Hall and is the daily rendezvous for many of the students. An annual fee of \$1.00 is charged which permits the member to share in the annual dividends of the Society and to purchase his school-supplies from the store at a reduction of about 8 per cent. below market prices. Six clerks are regularly engaged in serving the customers of the association.

## THE M. I. T. COÖPERATIVE SOCIETY.

The Coöperative Society of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, located

in Boston, was begun in 1886. It does not directly own a store or stock of goods, but throughout the year purchases supplies needed by members, and sells them at a small margin. The profits of the Society, as well as the money gotten from the sale of membership cards (50 cents) are placed in the "Coöperative Scholarship Fund" and given to needy students who are working their way through the Institute. Similar to the system used at Harvard and Yale, the membership ticket of the Society also enables one to trade with any of the thirty-five "Affiliated Tradesmen" in all lines of business at a discount varying from 5 per cent. to 40 per cent.

## COÖPERATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

In 1892 the first steps were taken at the University of Wisconsin to start a Students' Coöperative Society. The prices charged by the local merchants for books and stationery were so exorbitant that the students were determined to endure it no longer. It was not until 1894, however, that anything definite resulted from this growing discontent. A mass-meeting was called in Library Hall, and the active support of over two hundred students was pledged to the proposed organization. The beginning was so small that at first all of the business was transacted on the steps of Library Hall, the stock consisting solely of lead-pencils and the historic "Blue Books" of Wisconsin (a blue-covered eight-page notebook used exclusively in quizzes and examinations). The first year's business amounted only to \$800, while at the present time more than three times this amount is handed back to the students each year in the shape of dividends.

For the first few years the opposition of the local merchants was exceedingly bitter and many underhand methods were used by them in their efforts to kill the young enterprise. But the "Coöp." had come to stay. To-day it occupies

## STATEMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN COÖPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Year.	Sales.	Amount of Dividends.	Rate of Dividends.	
1897.....	\$9,534.52	\$210.72	5 per cent. in Trade.	
1898.....	13,090.44	404.68	10 " " "	
1899.....	16,199.43	788.33	12½ " " "	
1900.....	25,303.78	1,602.36	12 " " "	10 per cent. in Cash.
1901.....	33,805.99	1,803.77	12 " " "	9 " " "
1902.....	35,009.14	1,830.99	12½ " " "	9 " " "
1903.....	40,320.05	2,082.02	12½ " " "	9 " " "
1904.....	46,070.29	2,366.45	12½ " " "	9 " " "
1905.....	48,762.07	2,720.45	13 " " "	10 " " "

the largest store-room in the vicinity of the University, sells more than \$48,750 worth of goods, hands back about \$2,720.45 in dividends to the 1,600 members, employs five regular clerks, and best of all, has an exceedingly high financial rating.

The payment of \$2.50 for a share of stock entitles the holder to a life membership and to a fountain-pen of standard make, the value of which is equal to the cost of the share of stock. With each purchase a member is given a slip of paper upon which is his number and the amount of the sale. At the close of the college-year, these slips are brought in by the students, and added up by the clerks of the store who return to the members their share of the dividends in accordance with the total amount of their year's purchases. The rate of dividends thus declared in June, 1905, was 10 per cent. in cash and 13 per cent. in trade.

The "Coöp." is headquarters for all college supplies, including books, stationery, military uniforms, gymnasium and athletic goods, shoes, room decorations and student sundries. New students, who have difficulty in being identified at the city banks, as well as many others, find the "Coöp." a convenient place to cash checks and drafts. More than \$300 worth of negotiable paper is cashed each day by the Society, while at the beginning of each semester this amount often rises as high as \$800.

Annual meetings are held for the election of a board of directors and other officers of the association.

The Society has published several text-

books of current use and has charge of their sale upon the market.

The above table is helpful in representing a statement of the association's business for the last nine years.

## UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS.

The Coöperative Society of the University of Texas is different from other organizations of a similar nature because of the fact that at the close of the college-year it returns to the members of the association their membership fee amounting to \$1.00, together with their share of the profits of the company, based upon the amount of goods purchased. The store of the Society is located in one of the rooms of the University, which has been set apart for it by the Board of Regents.

Organized in 1896, to-day it has 249 members, hires five regular clerks, transacted \$19,449.30 worth of business during the last year and declared dividends amounting to 5 per cent. upon purchases, in addition to handing back the membership fee of \$1.00 to each person sharing in the profits of the business.

The table below shows the rapid and

STATEMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS  
COÖPERATIVE SOCIETY.

Year.	Sales.	Amount of Dividends.
1897.....	\$6,031.34	.....
1898.....	7,424.54	\$101.35
1899.....	7,729.39	25.30
1900.....	8,830.86	280.26
1901.....	11,427.49	247.00
1902.....	11,728.82	275.90
1903.....	13,266.08	286.00
1904.....	14,202.00	517.50
1905.....	19,449.30	413.10



## COLLEGE COÖPERATIVE STORES IN THE UNITED STATES. JUNE, 1905.

Society.	Date of Starting.	No. of Members.	Sales 1904-1905.	Rate of Dividends.	Employees.
Cornell University, .....	1898	150	\$45,000.00	8 per cent.	7
Harvard University, .....	1882	2,513	238,315.14	7 " "	49
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, .....	1886	573	5,000.00	.....	1
Northwestern University, .....	*	.....	.....	.....	.....
University of California, .....	1884	450	54,651.58	8 per cent.	6
University of Illinois, .....	1905†	522	5,000.00	5 " "	2
University of Missouri, .....	1900	500	27,000.00	10 " "	3
University of Tennessee, .....	1902	7	7,000.00	8 " "	2
University of Texas, .....	1896	249	19,499.30	5 " "	5
University of Wisconsin, .....	1894	1,631	48,762.07	{ 10 " " Cash, } 13 " " Trade, }	5
Yale University, .....	1883	1,176	60,504.72	‡	8

\* Store just being organized.

† This store was begun in January, 1905, and the returns are for the succeeding five months.

‡ Declares no dividends but sells all goods at cost.

consistent growth in the sales of the Society from its establishment to the present time.

## UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.

A Coöperative Society similar in many respects to that of the University of Wisconsin is to be found at the University of Missouri. This store was started in 1900 and has been so successful in operation during the last five years that it already has a membership of 500, with sales amounting to \$27,000 for the last college-year. Dividends of 10 per cent. were declared upon purchases made by members of the association, while the prices of books have been reduced more than 25 per cent. from their former cost. Three to six clerks are needed to take care of the rapidly increasing business.

## UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE.

The Coöperative Society of the University of Tennessee, established in 1902, is rather unique in that all of the stock is held by seven professors and officers of the university. Dividends of 8 per cent. are annually paid upon the capital stock,

all the surplus above this amount being given over to the University Annual, the Y. M. C. A., Athletics and other student activities. Sometime ago it was proposed that the prices of all goods sold by the Society be reduced 5 per cent. and that there be no division of the surplus. This matter was vigorously opposed by the students, however, and subsequently dropped.

The coöperative stores of Cornell, the University of Illinois, and Northwestern University are so closely similar to those already described that no further mention of them need be made here.

The above table presents the status of the "College Coöperative Store" at the close of the last school-year (June, 1905). These figures are a living testimonial to its success. Thousands of students have materially reduced their expenses. There is room for one of these societies at every university and college throughout the country. Why should there not be more of them in the United States?

IRA CROSS.

Madison, Wis.

## HELEN M. GOUGAR: A NOBLE TYPE OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICAN WOMANHOOD.

### AN EDITORIAL SKETCH.

#### I.

THE CIVILIZATION of the nineteenth century in the New World was enriched by the influence of the most illustrious group of public-spirited women that up to that time had appeared in the life of any nation. Indeed, they may be said to have been the advance guard that ushered in the larger and freer day for woman. The voices of most of this chosen band are silent now, but their splendid work and influence live and blossom in all that is best in our civic, social and domestic life, and their names will be revered more and more as the years vanish and the greatness of their work and the heroism of the stand they so courageously took in the face of a frowning conservatism is more and more appreciated.

Dorothy Dix is only to-day beginning to be valued at anything like her worth. She wrought far more than any score of men in the nineteenth century to improve the condition of the insane in America and in Europe. Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Julia Ward Howe and Mary A. Livermore are only particularly brilliant lights among the historic coterie of American women who dealt Herculean blows for the emancipation of the black man while ever working for the elevation of the moral ideals of the people. Lucy Stone Blackwell, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were noble representatives of the woman's suffrage movement in its earlier days, as they were also effective defenders of democratic ideals and the vital demands of an expanding civilization.

Later came a noteworthy group of younger workers who fought none the less ably or valiantly for humanity's weal and the moral progress of the people.

Among these apostles of emancipated womanhood Frances E. Willard and Helen M. Gougar stand preëminent. Miss Willard has passed from view, but her great work for temperance, for social purity and for juster social conditions has left its imprint on the nation and will be felt for good for generations yet to come.

#### II.

Mrs. Gougar alone of all this chosen band remains strong with the vitality of a fine intellect in its rich maturity. She alone of the group we have mentioned is carrying forward the battle for progress and freedom—the warfare of true civilization, with all the power and energy of youth. She is a woman of splendid ability, of superb moral courage, and richly endowed with that passionate love for humanity, for justice and the higher development of the people that more than aught else is demanded by civilization from her leaders to-day.

She was born in Litchfield, Michigan, and was educated at Hillsdale College. After graduating she taught school in Lafayette, Indiana, where she became the principal of one of the public-schools—the first woman to hold that position in the city.

One day Mrs. Gougar was summoned to the home of a neighbor where she beheld one of those frightful tragedies that are frequently witnessed in all Christian lands. A woman had been murdered by her husband while he was insane through strong drink. The horrible picture presented by the dead wife, the bearded husband and the crushed and terror-stricken children, roused the young woman as a trumpet-call from heaven.



HELEN M. GOUGAR

Photo. by Phillips, La Fayette, Ind.  
THE ARENA





By temperament she belonged to that class, all too rare in our age, who when they hear the voice of duty unhesitatingly obey. No thought of ease or popularity, no consideration or self-interest or the pleasant applause of the world will deter these royal natures to whom duty is divine and her call the command of the Infinite.

Hence we find Mrs. Gougar soon among the most eloquent, logical and convincing temperance advocates of the land. For many years she was in the very front of the fight, nowhere being more effective than when appearing before legislative committees, for she was, we think, the only prominent temperance worker who possessed a thorough legal education. This she had acquired after coming to Indiana. Possessed of a natural aptitude for study and not content with her achievements as a teacher, she determined to master the law. After careful preparation she passed the requisite examination and was admitted to practice in all the courts of the state. She enjoys the distinction of being the first woman lawyer to argue a case before the supreme court of Indiana. The circumstances attending this famous appearance are interesting.

Mrs. Gougar was for twenty-three years President of the Woman's Suffrage Association of Indiana. The courts had admitted women to practice law, making a ruling that logically would sustain them in the exercise of the right of franchise. A "test vote" case was therefore pushed forward and Mrs. Gougar appeared as advocate for the woman voters. When the case reached the supreme court she made a legal argument which called forth the highest encomiums from the bench, bar and press for its strength, clarity of reasoning, consistency and logic. A writer thoroughly conversant with the facts of this well-known trial makes the following observations in regard to it:

"Her contention was and is that the law of Indiana is sufficient to allow women to vote, basing her claim on the decision

of the supreme court in the 'Leach case,' which admits women to practice law in Indiana. Many able jurists claim that she sustained her contention; at least she made the two decisions look exceedingly inconsistent on the part of the court. In the Leach case the chief justice writing the opinion declared: 'That which is expressed [in state constitution] does not make that which is silent cease.' In the test-vote case the same chief justice writing the opinion declared: 'That which is expressed *does* make that which is silent cease.'"

Mrs. Gougar more than anyone else was responsible for securing municipal suffrage for women in Kansas. She has also waged a winning warfare in many states to secure school suffrage for women, her knowledge of constitutional law being of great aid in these battles for a wider recognition of the inherent rights of women in a free state.

Unlike many temperance and women's suffrage reformers, Mrs. Gougar is not narrow-visioned. She recognizes that these great issues are but two of the many grave problems that the moral obligations impose upon free governments—obligations that should be bravely met and settled in alignment with the fundamental demands of democracy. She has fought a splendid battle for a wider meed of justice for all the people. She has eloquently opposed the despotism of privilege and the anarchy of corporate wealth. She is the only woman on the National Executive Committee of the Anti-Trust League of the United States.

Perhaps her greatest influence has been exerted on the platform, but she has also wrought effectively and with great ability through her pen. She is a strong, incisive and logical writer, possessing the power of presenting her subject in an engaging manner not unfrequently enhanced with wit, humor and satire, while sincerity, earnestness and clarity of thought are marked characteristics of all her work. Those who read her writings feel instinct-

ively that they are following the thoughts of one who would not prostitute her God-given powers for gold or for policy or expediency. She has contributed to many of our leading magazines and daily papers and has recently published a monumental work of travel presenting a vivid pen-picture of the races, nations and peoples with whom she and her husband came in contact during their extended travels around the globe. We thus briefly refer to this work as it forms the subject of one

of our book studies, but in passing we can truthfully say that it is the most satisfactory and informing work of travel we have read in a decade.

We trust the years may deal kindly with this strong, fine representative of twentieth-century womanhood, this champion of a higher standard of manhood and womanhood and of a nobler ideal of nationhood.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*

## AMERICA IN THE PHILIPPINES.

A CONVERSATION WITH HELEN M. GOUGAR.

*Author of Forty Thousand Miles of World-Wandering.*

"**M**RS. GOUGAR, as a prominent representative American citizen who has personally visited the Philippines, I should be very glad to have you give me some facts touching the condition of the Filipinos under the imperialistic rule of America in Manila. In the first place, what is your impression of the Filipinos of Manila?"

"The Filipinos are by far the superior race of the Malays. Many Filipinos are finely educated, have handsome, well-furnished homes, are patrons of art, music and literature. The women are agreeable, cultured and well-treated by their husbands. Many of these homes have suffered loss of works of art and furnishings from looting by American soldiers. Many able men are holding positions of honor and trust in the civil government which they are serving with credit and ability. All of these things indicate the worthiness of these people to be given self-government under American protection from outside interference, and this at no distant day. Give the Filipinos a chance and they will make a fine race in education, art and industry and will become capable of self-govern-

ment in a very short time. If we are unjust, if we care more for the dollar than for the man while administering affairs in the transition state through which these people are passing, then they will fall before the march of the white man as the Indian has fallen, and the white man, true to every experiment he has tried in the tropics, will become degraded and fall from his temperate zone estate."

"Often one can, I think, gain a better idea of a strange people by seeing them together in public gatherings, especially when the intellectual and moral sensibilities are being stimulated. Did you have any opportunity for such observation while in the Philippines?"

"Yes, on two very different occasions; once at a theater and once in a church. Through the courtesy of the author of a comedy and its translator into English, I was privileged to witness a play by a Filipino and presented by Filipinos. The large auditorium of the National Theater, which is much like the great rink buildings at home, was packed on Sunday night, fully one thousand being present. The women were in evening dress. Men came with their wives and

children and all conducted themselves with much decorum. Smoking was not allowed, even between the acts. The music was excellent. The Filipinos are natural musicians and interpret with taste and feeling. The stage scenery was artistic, appropriate and well-managed. The acting was excellent, women taking an equal part with men. There was no lack of dramatic action and enunciation was clear and distinct. While I could not understand the language, I followed the play with perfect comprehension by the aid of the translation in my hand. The dress of the actresses was modest, artistic and appropriate. The play was entitled 'Not Wounded' and was supposed to reproduce Filipino history and arouse the passions of the people against the much-hated friars. Four Spanish friars were killed off during one act, when the audience went wild with cheering and would not be satisfied until the curtain was raised and the friars were killed over again four times. The play was to reproduce the cruelties of former Spanish rule and show how retribution from an outraged and long-suffering people was finally administered. The most gifted American actors could have made no more out of the play than did the Filipinos. It was a very agreeable surprise to me, for I had heard and read so much unfavorable criticism of the ability, character and undertakings of these people. Apart from the interest of the play it was highly suggestive as showing the strength of the hatred that is deep-seated against the friars on the part of the masses of the most intelligent Filipinos.

"The other occasion on which I had an opportunity to observe this people when congregated was under the combined auspices of the Independent Church and the Socialist Labor party. I had a very urgent invitation extended to me to address the Filipinos on social questions. At five-thirty in the afternoon, the usual hour for public gatherings, a great audience of the better class of Filipinos assembled in the National Theater auditorium.

The room was profusely decorated with American flags. On the platform were General Lukeborn, Aguinaldo's leading general, Dr. Lukeborn, private physician to Aguinaldo, and a score or more of other notable men who had been leaders of the Filipino cause. They are now loyal, believing and hoping that American rule will prove best. Several said to me: 'We want America to stay with us until we are educated, united, and the jealousies of war forgotten, and we are capable and strong enough for self-government. Then we want self-government.' These people had never before heard a woman speak from a public platform. It was an affecting scene to witness these people who such a short time before had been shooting at the flag now decorating the hall with our national emblem and listening to the words of an American with courtesy and respect. I explained to them the methods of educating the young in our free schools and urged them to send their children to the schools established for them instead of to the parochial schools. I encouraged them to learn the English language, to read the Bible for themselves and follow its precepts. At this point they cheered enthusiastically, for one of the things that the Independent Church stands for is reading the Bible, which has hitherto been denied them by the friars. I entreated them to practice temperance and virtue, educate their women, and in every way make them equal and respected with men. I assured them that whether or not it was the policy of the present administration to give them self-government, I knew it to be the policy of the people of the United States to do so, and that they would yet be granted full freedom according to the principles of the American Republic. At this declaration the great audience went wild with enthusiasm, for these people are as determined to secure their freedom as ever were our forefathers and mothers when they fought their would-be imperial rulers."

"I should not think," I suggested,

"that the recreant American government that had suppressed the Declaration of Independence as a treasonable document in the Philippines would have approved of such just, sane and wholesome democratic doctrine."

"You are right. Because of this apparently innocent and American declaration the imperialistic press of Manila denounced me and said I ought to grace a cell in Bilibid prison. It is certainly a strange state of affairs when in any place under the stars and stripes a person should be denounced for declaring in favor of the supremacy of free institutions; but such is the spirit of imperialism in the Philippines where Americans are being taught to have contempt for the principles upon which our government is founded and for freedom of speech. One of the sad features of our occupation of the Philippines is that we are instructing so many, especially of our young soldiers, in a contempt for free institutions. In the olden times wherever the flag went, there went with it the principles of the Declaration of Independence, a sacred regard for the political rights of others, and, in a word, the moral idealism born of the principles of democratic government. I found this spirit subordinated to the lust for power and the lust for gain which have wrought such havoc in the political idealism of the Republic at home in recent years. By our conduct in the Philippines we have brought down upon ourselves the contempt of other governments that charge us with inconsistency because we have repudiated the principles upon which our government was founded."

"You spoke of the strong public sentiment evinced at the play against the friars, from which I should infer that the intense popular feeling against the orders has not perceptibly diminished since the days of the Spanish rule."

"No indeed. The Filipinos are desperately in earnest in throwing off the control of the friars and the Pope of Rome. They demand 'an independent church for the Filipinos by the Filipinos.' Arch-

bishop Aglipay is the head of this movement and counts his adherents by three million. These Independents, in my judgment, are right, and the masses can never take their proper place in their country until the blight of the friars is removed root and branch. And just here let me record my protest against the great wrong perpetrated on the American people that hold their peace and let the government filch from them seven million dollars with which to pay these friars for land to which they had no right or title and never had more than a temporary lease, and which already belonged to the American government if the twenty million dollars paid to Spain for the islands bought land instead of men. The most astonishing part of all this has been the silence on the matter maintained by the religious and secular press of the United States. It was a bold and high-handed robbery of the people for a most unjust purpose. It went to swell the coffers of the Pope of Rome and in return carried a large vote for the political party that perpetrated the wrong."

"What impressed you as the most beneficent influence so far exerted by the United States in the Philippines?"

"The American free schools are the bright particular spots in Manila and do American occupation most credit and honor. They are only fairly well attended, owing to the pronounced and aggressive opposition of the Roman Catholic priesthood. If the United States supports the free schools, there should be compulsory attendance, notwithstanding the opposition of the priests, and this would be if the best interests of the people were considered in handling the educational proposition instead of the possible political influence of the church in this country."

"What was the result of your personal investigations in regard to the attempt to introduce contract labor in these islands?"

"There is a movement on foot, and it is in Congress with a strong lobby behind



it, to impose on these islands, as well as the Hawaiian, the coolie or Chinese contract-labor system. To this scheme the Filipinos are bitterly and fanatically opposed, and justly so. These people say that under Spanish rule they were never taught industrial arts or agricultural pursuits; that they have not had the opportunity to develop their country; that they have been taxed and robbed, and that every noble aspiration has been discouraged by the blighting rule of Spain. And these things are true. Now it is argued with equal truth that if the Chinese contract-labor is permitted by the United States, it means nothing less than the poverty, degradation and destruction of the Filipinos and their enslavement. One leading man said to me: 'If the Americans impose this upon us it will lead to revolution in which our people will be destroyed, for you are strong enough to whip us, but we may as well die before your guns as to become industrial slaves. We want a chance to show the world what we can do.' It was a pitiful patriotic appeal and one that the United States should heed. If the imperialistic government of the Philippines shall lead to human slavery through the so-called contract-labor, God knows that there should be insurrection at the American ballot-box against any party that would be guilty of making such a law. There is great danger of this law being enacted at a time like the present, when dollars count more than men. Ex-Governor Taft is giving it his support, be it said to his everlasting shame. Its enactment would be a crime not second to that of African slavery, if such a measure should be adopted for any of these islands. My open opposition to this infamous scheme aroused the antagonism of men who are interested in buying up large tracts of land, as many are doing; in securing railway franchises and promoting public enterprises. Among those who are most interested in the scheme for contract-labor are American syndicates of capitalists who are interested in securing fran-

chises for street-railways, electric-lighting plants, water-works and railways for the islands. They claim that the Filipino will not work, and to this claim a leading Filipino said to me: 'I will pledge any contractor who needs workmen and who will pay a living wage, that I can secure from one thousand to one hundred thousand men, all Filipinos, to work for him within a month's notice.' But the exploiters do not wish to pay a living wage.

"If the Chinese are to come into the Philippines and Hawaii, let them come as free men, work as free men, go as free men. Let there be no slave-labor under the whip of capital in any corner of the earth over which the stars and stripes wave. This proposition for contract-labor is the legitimate evolution of the trust system of finance and imperialism in government. Let it apply to the islands of the Pacific belonging to the United States, and how long before it will apply to the coal fields, the factories and industries of the United States. Better that not a pound of sugar be raised in the islands, that not a foot of railroad be laid or an electric light be strung, than that these things should be done under the whip of industrial slavery as proposed by the exploiters of these new possessions. It is far easier to prevent the adoption of slave laws than to get rid of them when once adopted. Shall virtual human slavery follow imperialism under the flag? Let the American people answer No, with no uncertain sound, for contract-labor is the most degrading form of human slavery."

"What has been the general moral influence, in your judgment, of the American occupation?"

"It has lowered the moral status of the natives and made them drunken with intoxicating liquors. The pernicious system prevailing at home, of receiving a money consideration for vice and licensing it, thereby strengthening it, prevails wherever American men have gone. On a prominent brick-structure in the heart of Manila, painted in large letters, is

'The only bar open when the American troops arrived.' Now there are over nine hundred places in Manila where intoxicating liquors are sold, and the natives are rapidly taking on the drink habit. The steamer upon which we sailed from Vancouver carried twenty thousand kegs of beer for Manila.

"American men soon assume a contempt for virtue and accept Oriental ideas and practices. I am safe in saying that two-thirds of the small children seen on the streets of Manila and Cavité are half American blood.

"It is the old story told by France and Great Britain in all their attempts to colonize and govern tropical islands, of degradation of the conquerors as well as the conquered. America is merely repeating the story in the Philippines."

"Has the moral effect of religious missionary efforts, that have followed the flag, in your judgment counteracted the evil influences that have been introduced?"

"Not by any means; neither upon the natives nor the invading Americans, and never will."

HELEN M. GOUGAR.

*La Fayette, Ind.*

## THE COMING EXODUS.

BY ARTHUR S. PHELPS, A.B.

WHEN any work of man reaches a high degree of elaboration, a reactionary tendency manifests itself. Ruskin applies this psychological principle to Gothic architecture. It is equally conspicuous in the external forms that poetry adopts in different ages, in the subjects of art, in the playhouses built by children. Elaboration precedes decay. Civilization is a revolving light. Better is the beginning of a thing than the end thereof. It is more interesting to ask than to receive, to knock than to enter. "I have seen all the works that are done under the sun, and behold all is vanity." The desire fulfilled is weariness to the soul. We may even ask whether the entire evolutionary process, from nebula to dissolution, has not been wrought over and over again, only ever on a higher cycle,—a spiral evolution. "Dust thou art, to dust thou shalt return."

This familiar law of reversion to type finds its most striking illustration in our day in the exodus, now only in its beginnings, from the city to the country. Prophecies of limitless increase in urban population during the new century have

not reckoned with the counter-current. A mighty immigration from town to country has begun. Who can say where it will end? Will sky-scrappers become rookeries, and banking-house and cathedral spire become abodes for the owl and the bittern? Will the doom of one splendid temple be the doom of all: "There shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down"? There are now no Goths and Vandals to bring nature in, but there are automobiles and trolley-cars to let civilization out. Mankind is coming to think that "life simplified is life glorified." Realism is the coming, romance the parting, guest. Millet in art, Tolstoi in fiction, Edwin Markham in poetry, have superseded Rembrandt, Scott, Keats, and their ilk of the cloud-land. Even real sin has become, in the extreme passion for reality, more readable than ideal virtue. Conventionality leads to the grave, nature to the resurrection. The biographer of the one is Hardy the pessimist, of the other Ernest Thompson Seton, the animal lover. "God made the country, and man made the town."

"It seems to be agreed," wrote Charles Dudley Warner, "that civilization is kept up only by constant effort. Nature claims its own speedily when the effort is relaxed." To this agrees Helen Hunt in a favorite passage which, in the absence of "Ramona," is thrown into verse:

"Nothing proves better the primal intent  
To bring blessing to man—this is what nature  
meant,—  
In spite of an arrogant civilization,  
Which strives to abort its realization,  
Than the quick and sure way she reclaims his affection  
When by weariness, chance, or depressed by dejection,  
He returns for an interval to her embraces.  
How soon he shakes off the bits and the traces,  
The base subterfuges of habits so called,  
Social caste, and adornment, the customs that galled!"

Forces no less fierce than Kipling's animal folk are letting in the jungle to the heart of man. An overwrought artificiality, simpering in a stuffy boudoir, arrayed in tawdry finery, feels the breath of heaven sweet on the flushed cheeks, through the open window, and soon answers the call of the fountains and groves as Wordsworth did:

'I only have relinquished one delight  
To live beneath your more habitual sway."

The merchant, cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd, learns that there is a pleasure in the pathless woods. Man is an animal that does not thrive long in captivity.

These observations afford an answer to the problems put by Mr. Warner in his *Camping Out*: "The instinct of barbarism that leads people periodically to throw aside the habits of civilization, and seek the freedom and discomfort of the woods, is explicable enough; but it is not so easy to understand why this passion should be strongest in those who are most refined and most trained in intellectual and social fastidiousness." And Hamilton Mabie says: "Simplicity is always a note of the highest culture." This class forms the vanguard of the new movement. What a pleasurable start it gives one to read the names of Professor George P. Fisher of Yale, C. D. Warner, and others equally illustrious, cut in the logs of a cabin in the Adirondack woods!

Hardly second to the professional class in enthusiasm for nature life are now the foremost business men of the nation. Travelers of a decade or two ago wrote that the farm-houses of New England were falling to decay, not able to compete with the western farms. These abandoned farms are now the country homes of the rich. The office-seeker is not the only one that adulates the farmer. "Tell of it, ye that ride on white asses, ye that sit on rich carpets," the most successful farmers in Pennsylvania are President A. J. Cassatt of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and Mr. Clement A. Griscom. These millionaires have outstripped the other ten members of the Philadelphia Farmers' Club in the race for prizes in butter-making, gardening and agriculture. Long Island, for generations a wild waste in the heart of civilization, now blossoms like the rose with the broad farming lands of the New York capitalist. The explanation given for this new exodus, in a recent journal, is that men have been too busy making money to have the leisure for country life. But we must seek deeper than this for a cause, and find it only in the will of that freaky sprite, the *Zeit Geist*. Mankind flees as a bird to the mountains, not because he can afford it, but because the tide of material refinement is already in the ebb. The watchword of the nineteenth century was "Forward!" that of the twentieth century is "Backward!" Segregation is reaching its limit, and disintegration is in progress. Anabolism, the female element in nature, is yielding to katabolism, the male element.

Yet, alas, nature is a luxury! The poor can enjoy it as yet only by permission of the fresh-air fund. Crowded tenements, blazing streets, raging fevers, attend to the problem of the elimination of the unfit. While the colonization schemes of the Salvation Army and kindred organizations give promise of a better day, yet those who need most to leave must be longest exposed to the unnatural conditions of our overcrowded centers.

ARTHUR S. PHELPS.

Redlands, Cal.

## DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE.

By HENRY F. HARRIS.

**B**ISHOP Thomas F. Gailor, of Tennessee, recently delivered some remarkable utterances in a Sunday newspaper article on the subject of the remarriage of divorced people, which should not remain unchallenged. Bishop Gailor's views are shared by a large and influential body of ecclesiastics and are therefore worthy of serious consideration. Moreover, the question which he raises is an important one and bears directly on the social status of many men and women, who, after having passed through the fires of a deep experience, have found the peace, the joy and inward satisfaction which right living and the consciousness of a true and consistent relation to their God, to the world and to society, bring. Their children dwell in an atmosphere of love and devotion rather than hatred and contention. The little ones daily hear words of tenderness and affection instead of vexation and bitterness.

And yet, Bishop Gailor says: "Hundreds of little children who are to be citizens and voters in Tennessee, are every year condemned to the homelessness and the immoral environment of a life where the father or mother is living with a new partner while the first wife or husband is still living."

Is it possible that the people of Tennessee are the creatures which this assertion would lead us to infer? Children "condemned to homelessness and immoral environment" forsooth! Not a word about the immoral environment which indeed exists in a home where mutual love and respect have flown or never existed, except in some misshapen or mistaken form. Not one sentence from the Bishop regarding the utter "homelessness" of a home where children must listen to language and observe conduct on the part of their parents which proves all too well that home to the older

ones has lost every semblance of sacredness. To bring children up in *such* an atmosphere and with so degrading an environment is to rob them of all sense of the sacredness of marriage or the beauty of an ideal home life.

The good but sadly mistaken people who allow ecclesiastical training and dogma to shape their utterances, if not their thoughts, on this question, are helping to perpetuate this very condition. They are urging and imploring unhappy people to live together as man and wife even though that association be abhorrent and distinctly immoral in its effects upon both themselves and their children.

Bishop Gailor, go with me to the home of a refined and sensitive woman whom I know. She is the very essence of virtue and goodness. When a mere child of eighteen she married a man whom she loved and trusted with all the wealth of a first love. He was her knight-errant, her king, yet an hour after their wedding he confessed to her a life of lewdness, extending to the very night before their marriage, which was appalling. The respect which she had for him fled at that moment, but she remained a true wife in spite of her breaking heart. In a few years the brutality of her husband became unbearable and she "left his bed and board" never to return. In due time this man procured a divorce on the ground of desertion, and a year later the divorced woman became the wife of a widower with several children. He is a good man, a devoted father and husband, while the children simply idolize their step-mother. Go to their home and you will find it radiant with joy and loving tenderness, all that makes home a "foretaste of heaven." Is there any "immoral environment" there? And yet, this is typical of hundreds upon hundreds of homes (and no doubt they exist in Ten-



nessee) where the husband or wife has been divorced from a former companion.

The ideal marriage is the one which is dissolved only by death, and where mutual love and tenderness exist to such an extent that no other agency can cause a separation. But such marriages are only too rare and their number is likely to decrease in proportion to the efforts of influential people like the Tennessee Bishop, who apparently see nothing wrong in a marriage if it be a first union, or no former partner of either party is living.

Bishop Gailor has not a word in his article against the crying evil of youthful and reckless marriage which is so prevalent everywhere and which usually leads to divorce. Legislators fear to handle this evil and there is no organized moral force to impel the lawmakers to act or to uphold preventive laws after they are on the statute books. Much can be done by systematic educational work, by teaching the young the sacredness of marriage in its highest sense and the wisdom of choosing wisely, waiting in patience until such time in life when blind and unreasoning impulse, combined with selfishness, will give way to nobler feelings and more sublime intent.

Bishop Gailor says: "Christianity declares that marriage is not a contract but a state of life, the most intimate, the most sacred into which men and women may enter, and *only the most complete and vile dishonor* can disrupt or cancel it." It is this interpretation of Christian teaching that sometimes drives mismatched people to crime in order to loosen their galling bonds. We may well pause and ask: Is this the doctrine that Christ taught?

It is not an act of dishonor to withdraw from any degrading association; not discredit to separate from that which crushes hope, stifles ambition and destroys the highest aspirations; not debasement to be divorced, if that condition means a purer life, renewed hope and greater helpfulness. It is dishonor to remain in a state of marriage wherein

the soul cries out in agony of despair, and the bondage robs life of all its sunshine.

The laws of the Roman Catholic Church relative to divorce and remarriage are well known, but the recent action of the Right Rev. Bishop Richard Scannell, of the Nebraska Diocese, in excommunicating a number of prominent and wealthy members of his church for attending the wedding of Congressman Kennedy and Miss Pritchett seems to demonstrate that the Roman Catholic Church is not growing less intolerant on this subject. Mr. Kennedy is a divorced man. He is a Presbyterian and his present wife is an Episcopalian. Bishop Scannell declared that the members of his church who participated in the wedding ceremony and those who attended the reception which followed, are alike culpable and have excommunicated themselves by their action. He further stated that the attendance upon this wedding was an act of sin on the part of his parishioners and that any attempt to justify it on the ground of modern usage could not stand, because the law of morals never becomes antiquated and that "the divine prohibition to put asunder those whom God has joined together is as binding to-day as it was twenty centuries ago."

In commenting on this action by Bishop Scannell, the *Catholic Columbian Record*, of Indianapolis, said:

"Well done, thou angel of the church in Nebraska! It is time that our rich were taught that they have no more rights in religion than the poor. It is time that we lived apart from the world and its way, a holy people, fearing the Lord and observing His commandments. It is time that we gave public and solemn testimony of our horror for the sacrilege of divorce!"

And so the innocent Roman Catholics who attended the Kennedy-Pritchett wedding have excommunicated themselves!

"Henceforth they may have no part in the communion of the saints; they may not approach the sacraments and 'their souls are dead.' If they were to expire as they are, unrepentant and unshriven, Christian burial would be denied them!"

It is difficult to believe that this exposition of the workings of the law of excommunication will add to popular respect for the Roman Catholic Church—a church which has accomplished a great amount of good, yet which denies freedom of individual judgment and the guidance of an enlightened conscience if these conflict in any degree with her immutable laws. The claim that it was "an act of sin" to attend the wedding of Congressman Kennedy and that the "law of morals" was violated thereby will meet with scant approval on the part of thinking members of the Roman Catholic faith.

That marriage is not so much a contract as it is a state of life, is sound Christian doctrine, for the ceremony, the legal records, the publicity and the seal of the church, together with the vows of the contracting parties are as nothing in the scales against the tiny God of Love—a love so constant, so self-sacrificing and true that right living must be the result. Such love exists in stronger degree, in greater measure, in one who has been unfortunate in a past relation and has found at last the blessed contentment for which his heart longed.

And yet representatives of religious

bodies meet and declare that the Christian law admits only one possible cause for divorce. The weakness of this statement is apparent by its constant reiteration. Comparatively few of the laity believe it. If only perfect people existed such a law would not be thought of, and as humanity at present is made up of those who err, and whose judgment is fallible, many matrimonial mistakes are certain to occur. Shall these unfortunate people be compelled to resort to the "one possible cause" in order that they may become free when they finally determine that life together is impossible? Or shall they be obliged to separate and live a life of self-denial, deprived of the blessings of home and love and remain the constant objects of suspicion and distrust?

There are many who cannot see Divine Mercy in this. An all-wise Father judges our lives by the manner in which they are lived. He interprets our ideals and measures our aspirations. He deals in realities. "God is not mocked."

The most beloved life is the one which is happy and makes others happy; the most useful life is the one devoted to helpfulness, teaching others how to help themselves; the noblest life is possessed by one devoid of selfishness, whose influence goes out daily for cleaner living, purer homes and a better race.

HENRY F. HARRIS.

*Indianapolis, Ind.*

## THE COLOR-LINE IN NEW JERSEY.

BY LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

ONE OF the striking developments of very recent years is the recrudescence of the prejudice against people of African descent, as expressed in official action. In some states this revival of color antipathy is manifested by statutes avowedly intended to keep the white

and colored races apart in schools, in travel and in other matters. An interesting phase in this development is presented in New Jersey, where a way seems to have been found of satisfying the apparently growing repugnance to contact with colored people on terms of legal

equality, while at the same time keeping on the statute-book a law so sweeping in its insistent on absolute equality that it can be shown to the most zealous opponent of race distinction as proof that perfect justice between the white and colored races is the cherished policy of the state. It would appear from the case whose history is here given that New Jersey has, in the matter of its schools, evolved a system of theoretical admission of colored children to white schools by terms of legislation and simultaneously of actual exclusion by method of administration. Such an achievement can hardly fail to be of general interest, since it may well invite emulation in other states.

The case has its more serious aspect in that it is another instance—of which we have had so many of late—of disregard in high places of obligation to observe the law, a sort of official and high social anarchy which cannot but tend to breed contempt for law among the humbler classes.

The present school-law of the state provides that "no child between the age of four and twenty years shall be excluded from any public-school on account of his or her religion, nationality or color," and provides penalties for violation of this provision. This clause is a reenactment of a similar provision adopted many years ago and which gave expression to the then existing sentiment in favor of "equality before the law."

The concrete case which reveals the system by which all "mixed" schools may be converted into "white" schools by exclusion of colored pupils is furnished by the city of Burlington. That city has six public-school buildings, three of which are of the grammar grade, one of the latter with high-school grades. One of the combined primary and grammar-grade schools is the William R. Allen School, which is used exclusively for colored children.\*

This colored school-building was in existence and maintained as now in 1883,

when a colored minister, Rev. J. H. Pierce, made application to the trustees of the public-schools of the city for the admission of his four children of school-age to the public-school nearest his residence. This application was denied, but the school authorities offered to place the children in the colored school, then conducted by an admittedly competent teacher. Mr. Pierce insisted on his right, under the provision of the then school-law—substantially the same as above quoted—to the admission of his children, under terms of equality with the children of other citizens, into the public-school nearest his residence, and secured counsel to present his claims to the Supreme Court of the state on an application for a writ of mandamus, compelling the school authorities to receive his children as demanded by him. The matter was submitted to the court and argued on an agreed state of facts, and the court decided† that the relator "was entitled to have his children educated in the public-school nearest his residence, unless there was some just reason for sending them elsewhere." The court proceeded further to state that the children, being excluded because their father was a mulatto, that ground of exclusion was not, under the statute, permissible.

This decision, then, settled the question whether the school authorities could, under the law as it then was and as it now exists, exclude from a public-school any child because of color, even where a separate colored school, reasonably easy of access, is maintained as part of the public-school system. Accordingly, from that time until January 4, 1904, colored children were admitted to the "white" public-schools of the city of Burlington, although nearly all the colored school-children attended the colored school, which was conducted by colored teachers.

The school authorities of Burlington,

\*Ground for this school was donated by the man whose name it bears that there might be in Burlington a school for the education of colored youth. The school now is part of the public-school system.

† 46 N. J. Law Rep., 76.

however, evidently determined upon the policy of separating the races in the public-schools, in spite of the law as thus construed. At the close of the school-year of 1903, two colored girls were ready for promotion from the colored grammar-school to the high-school, and received certificates to that effect from the principal, but they were refused admission to the high-school and the principal of the colored school was directed to educate them in the high-school grades in addition to the conduct of the grammar-school. Counsel made application to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and pressure from that source induced the local authorities to reconsider their action and to receive the two colored pupils into the high-school classes.

The colored principal of the colored school, who had filled that position for more than fourteen years and who had championed the right of his pupils to admission to the high-school, was about the same time "given notice" and a new principal—a colored woman—substituted. Opposition to the Board of Education's transparent policy of exclusion was not assigned as a cause for removal, but the new appointee had abundant notice that her tenure of office would be secure in proportion to her acquiescence in the new policy, and her testimony in subsequent proceedings to be presently mentioned showed that she was not too dull to profit by that notice.

On January 4, 1904, the supervising principal, by orders signed by him, transferred all the colored children in the city of Burlington—some eight in number—who were attending "white" schools to the William R. Allen or colored school. Among these were two, aged thirteen and eight years respectively, the children of one James R. Stockton, a taxpayer and real-estate owner of Burlington. The younger child had attended for three years a primary grade school nearest her father's residence; the elder had attended the same primary-grade school for three years and the nearest grammar-school

for the succeeding three years. There was no grade in the colored school corresponding to the grade of the older child. The father of these children resented the transfer as an infringement of his rights, and more specifically because the colored school was much farther from his residence, necessitating the crossing of a railroad, and because the educational advantages for his children would be less in the colored school than in the schools from which they were transferred.

Counsel was consulted and it was conceived that the exclusion, for no assigned reason, of these children from the public-schools where they had attended, but presumably because of their color, was directly in line with the case of Pierce above referred to.

The state school-law contains a provision that "The State Superintendent of Public Instruction shall decide, subject to appeal to the State Board of Education and without costs to the parties, all controversies and disputes that shall arise under the school-laws."

The petitioner's counsel, assuming that here was a "controversy or dispute" arising under the school-laws, applied on the petitioner's behalf to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and February 16th submitted a formal statement or petition asking for an order directing the reinstatement of petitioner's children. Two days later the State Superintendent addressed a letter to the petitioner's counsel, D. Cooper Allinson, stating that the action complained of was the act of the local supervising principal, acting within his discretion, and saying: "I beg leave to advise you that the said complaint can not be entertained nor any legal action taken in connection therewith by this department until presented as an appeal from a decision of the Board of Education, the governing body of the schools of the city of Burlington."

Thus politely bowed out of the office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, to whom the statute was thought to direct, the petitioner promptly



proceeded to endeavor to procure from the Board of Education a "decision" from which an appeal might properly be taken. That the reader who is at all interested in this story of an improved method of establishing the color-line, a method very likely to invite imitation elsewhere, may understand the difficulties encountered by the petitioner in this case in his unsuccessful effort to secure—not the vindication of what he claims to be his rights—but even *any adjudication at all* on his claim, the subsequent proceedings are given in somewhat tedious detail. Without this full presentation, however, the final outcome could not be so well appreciated. A consistent policy, like a golden thread, runs through the entire conduct of the case, indicating that there is much more involved than the question of admission or rejection of the applicant's children to the particular schools in question, that a deeply-laid plan for separation of the races is here revealed.

On February 24, 1904, written application was made to the Board of Education for a restoration of the children to their former positions in the public-schools. The secretary of the board, on February 26th, stated by letter that the communication had been received and referred to the Committee on Teachers. March 1st inquiry by letter was made of the board whether the committee was instructed when to report. The secretary replied that there were no instructions as to time. March 3d the petitioner addressed a letter to the president of the board asking that he exert his power to secure an early report on the petition. On March 7th the president of the board replied that he did not feel that "a reasonable time had elapsed" for a report on the case. March 24th the Committee on Teachers made their report to the board, stating that the supervising principal had made the transfers "for the purpose of more nearly equalizing the number of pupils in the classes and grades" and to add to the efficiency of the work, etc., and they rec-

ommended that the petitioner be furnished with a copy of the report and that he be advised to confer with the supervising principal regarding the matter. A copy of this report was sent to the petitioner. May 9th petitioner's counsel addressed a letter to the secretary of the board asking whether he was to understand from the report of the committee that the reinstatement of the children was refused. The secretary replied, May 9th, that the report "covered all the issues raised." May 25th the petitioner addressed a letter to the supervising principal, giving in detail his reasons for objecting to the transfer of his children and setting forth his belief that they were transferred on account of color. To this letter no reply was received. June 6th the petitioner again wrote asking for a reply to his letter of May 25th. To this letter no reply was vouchsafed by the supervising principal. June 22d the petitioner again addressed the board, recounting the letters to the supervising principal, the latter's failure to reply, and again requesting the board to take up the consideration of his petition of February 24th, and to grant to him the reinstatement of his daughters in the public-schools from which he claimed they had been illegally transferred. June 29th the petitioner again addressed the board a communication, asking that the board take "speedy and definite action" on his application, to the end that he might know his status as a parent and the status of his children "as pupils in the public-schools of the city of Burlington." To this communication the secretary of the board replied, July 26th, that "the supervising principal will doubtless make reply to the communications, which you state that you addressed to him, in due season. Until his reply is made known to the board and a report on the allegations which you make is submitted by a committee, it is not likely that the board will take any further action."

The board took no further action. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction had officially informed the petitioner

that until the local Board of Education should act he could not entertain a complaint, nor "could" any legal action "be taken in connection therewith by his department." Here, then, was such a situation of affairs that, to all appearances, the petitioner was without a remedy, unless some power could be found to compel the board to act in the matter and to reinstate his children if they were, under the law, entitled to such reinstatement.

The petitioner, then, through his counsel, had recourse to an application to the court for a writ of mandamus—the precise remedy which proved effective in the *Pierce* case above alluded to.\*

A rule to show cause why a writ of mandamus should not issue was allowed September 21, 1904. In accordance with the established practice, which might seem to have been devised to prevent persons of small means from having recourse to the courts for vindication of violated rights, witnesses were examined before a commissioner, the depositions were written out and printed to be submitted to the court which could much better hear the witnesses direct on the argument of the rule. This involved an expense almost prohibitive to one of the petitioner's means, but the case, with counsel's briefs, was printed.

In the taking of the testimony it was

\*One word of explanation here may be of service to the lay reader. A writ of mandamus issues out of the Supreme Court to compel subordinate officials or bodies to do certain things which the court shall have decided ought to be done. It is a rule established in New Jersey that this writ will not issue where the applicant has another specific remedy, *i. e.*, can secure his specific relief by some other means. Thus it was held where mandamus was applied for to compel a road overseer to repair the roads and objection to the issuing of the writ was made on the ground that there was a remedy by indictment of the official for non-performance of duty, that the remedy by indictment was not specific, that the recalcitrant official might suffer imprisonment as a punishment and still the roads remain unrepaired. Accordingly the writ was granted and the overseer was commanded to perform his official duty. Now the New Jersey State Educational Law provides no means of enforcing obedience by local school authorities to the orders of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction or of the State Board of Education, beyond the

shown that the colored school, which petitioner's children had been ordered to attend, did not offer the same educational advantages as the school from which they were removed, since the increased number of grades in the school required fewer recitations per week and shorter periods of recitations in a number of the branches taught. It was claimed on behalf of the local board that the transfer was made to equalize the classes, since the total number of pupils of the various grades in attendance at the colored school was small, while, on the other hand, it was disclosed that if the truant-law should be enforced the colored children out of school would fill the colored school without a transfer of those in attendance at the "white" schools.

The case was submitted to the Supreme Court, November Term, 1904. In due course the court announced its decision not to pass at all on the questions raised by the application for a writ of mandamus and which had been at so great expense submitted to it, on the ground that the applicant for the writ should first have proceeded by appeal from the action of the local Board of Education to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and from his decision to the State Board of Education. As a precedent to support its decision the court cited a then recent case, in which the court had refused to power of withholding the part of state funds which might otherwise be apportioned to the district of the offending local officials. Counsel reasoned, following the analogy of the road official's case, that this power of withholding money was not a specific remedy since it was conceivable that the local authorities, in a given case, might prove obstinate and suffer the schools to be closed if need be, for want of the state funds, or, if the community's prejudices were sufficiently strong, the local schools might be kept open by private support rather than obey the order of the State Board. In such a possible case, the aggrieved individual would be as completely without a remedy as in the road official's case. Thus reasoning, and relying on the *Pierce* case, where the facts were identical with the facts as alleged in this case, counsel asked in the usual manner for a writ of mandamus. But the workings of the judicial mind are sometimes disappointing and one who relies solely on what he conceives to be logic and the rules of ratiocination to forecast judicial action in a given case, is liable to go astray.

grant the writ to the applicant until he should have first exhausted his remedy through the State educational authorities. But in this last-mentioned case, which now became in the eyes of the court a precedent for refusing to consider the merits of an application for mandamus where the charge is exclusion from a school because of color, the court justified its action on the ground that the case at that time before it was distinguishable from the *Pierce* case, where the question of exclusion for color was involved and in which a mandamus was allowed. Inasmuch as the case we are considering is, if the facts alleged are sustained by the proofs—and whether they are so sustained or not was what the court was asked to pass upon—precisely such a case as the *Pierce* case, it is just a little puzzling how the court could refuse to hear this case on the ground that it had refused to hear a former case because that former case was not like the *Pierce* case and, consequently, not like this case, since according to the old mathematical formula, “things equal to the same thing are equal to each other.”

By this deliverance of the Supreme Court the petitioner found himself, in the game of shuttlecock and battledore, back where he was at the beginning, and, nothing daunted, he again applied to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, resolved to follow up his decision, if need be, by an appeal to the State Board of Education, and the latter's decision, if adverse, by a second application to the Supreme Court, which might then, perhaps, consent to hear him.

Accordingly an application was made to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the sworn testimony taken by both sides for presentation to the Supreme Court was submitted by the petitioner's counsel. This was on April 7, 1905, and the Superintendent, not unnaturally, took time to consider the matter. Nothing further was heard of the case and the petitioner's counsel addressed, July 6, 1905, a letter to the State Super-

intendent of Public Instruction respectfully asking for a determination of the case. No response by decision or otherwise was made to this letter. On August 22d, counsel again addressed the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, stating that their client had started the proceedings in good faith for the maintaining of his rights; that as a citizen and taxpayer he was entitled to have the question of his right passed upon by the regularly constituted tribunals of the state of which he was a citizen and taxpayer and that the circumstances of the case were such that further delay was practically a denial of a hearing. To this application and to these communications no response has been made. With this long and seemingly unwarranted delay, the conclusion would appear to be justified that no decision is intended to be made.

If a decision adverse to the petitioner could, on the facts, be made, there is no apparent reason why it should be delayed. Thus, after an expenditure of money which he could ill afford, a citizen and taxpayer guaranteed certain rights by the law of the state cannot find a tribunal to adjudicate his charge that he has been deprived of those rights solely on account of prejudice of color. Thus is established in New Jersey, by what seems like official hocus pocus, the color-line in the public schools, without any change in the statute and without incurring the inconvenience of opposition involved in an effort to amend the law.

That the spirit of this article may not be misunderstood, it should be stated that the writer believes in separate colored schools, where there are enough colored children to warrant their maintenance, for the two-fold reason that such schools, taking in the greater part of the colored school-children in a community, avoid the practical difficulties arising from race prejudice, and that they offer a career of usefulness for the more ambitious people of color as teachers—a career they could not hope to have in white or

mixed schools. In nearly every community—and it is so in Burlington—the colored population is largely grouped together, and the vast majority of the colored school-children can be assigned to such a school without violating either the letter or the spirit of the law which, according to the court's interpretation, entitled the citizen to have his children attend the school nearest his residence. But where the exceptional case exists and the "colored" school is farther removed, the statute is plain that no discrimination because of color shall be made. If, however, it is the public sense that this provision of the law is unwise, if it is desired that local Boards of Education shall have the power to compel all colored school-children to attend the colored school, where one is maintained, then the just, the fair thing to do, would be to

amend the statute in the sight of the world. Such action might command popular approval. It might be capable of support as being entirely just. This would be a proper subject for argument and no opinion upon it is meant to be here expressed, further than to say that it is not obvious what objection there can be, save from sheer prejudice, to the presence of a few decent colored people among whites engaged in the pursuit of knowledge.

But to blazon before the world a statute proclaiming absolute impartiality of treatment, and then to discriminate by refusing to recognize the statute in the local bodies or to enforce it in the higher official circles is of a piece of hypocrisy which should cast contempt upon a state.

LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

*Trenton, N. J.*

## MAYOR JOHNSON ON MUNICIPAL CONTROL OF VICE AND THE CHIEF CAUSES OF THE SOCIAL EVILS.

### AN EDITORIAL SKETCH.

#### I. THE CLERGYMEN OF CLEVELAND INTERROGATE MAYOR JOHNSON.

**E**XHIBITIONS on the part of public officials of candor, sincerity and an earnest and conscientious desire to further the highest interests of society are all too rare at the present time; and when in addition to these things a public servant evinces the profound insight of a philosopher and the broad vision of a true statesman, which enable him to distinguish clearly between fundamental causes of evil conditions and remedies that must necessarily be applied to reach the taproot of crime, vice, poverty and moral deterioration, and apparent immediate causes and remedies that are essentially palliative or partial in character, the phenomenon calls for special consideration.

For to-day, next to the exhibitions of moral turpitude and intellectual cunning and daring on the part of privileged interests and their vast army of retainers that constitute the supreme menace to democracy, nothing is more discouraging to the friends of free institutions than the spectacle apparent on every hand of earnest and true-hearted men and women devoting all their energies to the promotion of measures that at the very best can merely prove partial or palliative, while often their only result would be to relieve temporarily the hurt—in other words, something anodyne in character, soothing, affording brief relief, which might easily lull society into a dangerous sense of security while the evil more firmly rooted itself in the body politic.

The reply given a short time since by



Mayor Tom L. Johnson to the Ministers' Union of Cleveland affords a striking exhibition of the seeing eye, the feeling heart and the broad intellectual vision of the truly philosophic statesman so sorely needed in public life to-day.

The Ministers' Union of Cleveland addressed a communication to the Mayor relative to municipal control of vice in that city. In reply Mr. Johnson entered into a somewhat extended examination of the subject of vice and its effective treatment, dividing the subject into a consideration of the immediate repressive measures needed and the fundamental treatment required to reach the chief causes of vice, crime and poverty.

## II. MAYOR JOHNSON'S REPLY.

With a broad, generous spirit that is a marked characteristic of the man, Mr. Johnson freely grants the disinterested motives and praiseworthy desires of the clergymen, at the same time claiming for himself and his administration the same earnest and sincere desire "to make Cleveland a good place to live in, to promote the happiness of the people, and to surround them with such freedom from temptation and such encouragement in right living as will discourage vice and promote morality."

The aim of the city administration in coping with the extremely difficult problem, he asserts, is precisely the same as that of the clergymen. The only difference, in so far as any difference may exist, lies in the best method for dealing with the evil.

"There are three courses or policies," observes the Mayor, "which may be followed with respect to public dances, wine-rooms, disorderly houses, gambling, and the liquor traffic: First, official toleration; second, attempted suppression by crusade; third, administrative repression. The first course, we would agree, could not be followed by an administration seeking the end which you and I have in view. It is usually accompanied by

blackmail, graft and official corruption, which no possible foresight can prevent, and it cannot be adopted by a decent administration."

He then passes to a careful examination of the result of the attempted suppression by crusades and that of administrative repression. The attempted suppression by crusade he believes under present social conditions to be at once ineffective and fraught with very serious evils, in that it results in dispersing the moral pollution throughout the municipal body, thereby starting new centers of corruption in quarters hitherto unpoluted—centers that in the nature of the case frequently become pest-holes whence contagion becomes widespread long before the evil is suspected by or known to the authorities, because hidden in sections regarded as ultra-respectable. The Mayor's views in this respect are in agreement with the conclusions of many of the most earnest social reformers whose deep study of the grave problem entitles their views to serious consideration. In the second place, Mr. Johnson insists that experience has amply proved that this method is thoroughly ineffective. It has failed, and signally failed, wherever it has been tried, and "I doubt," he observes, "if there is a city in the country in which there has not been, at one time or another, a formal crusade against vice; but I equally doubt if a time or place can be named where such a crusade has effected even temporary betterment." Moreover, "it invariably results in blocking the courts." He then gives the results of the last attempt to carry out this plan in Cleveland, which ended in a dismal failure.

"Six years ago our police court dockets were choked and the courts themselves paralyzed by the liquor cases alone. At that time some sort of a crusade was being made. Saloonkeepers were arrested wholesale, many of them arrested many times. The result, however, was that by uniting and securing legal counsel at a very small

## 402 *Mayor Johnson on Municipal Control of Vice and Social Evils.*

cost to each defendant, the laws you cite me and which seem so simple and appear to afford such adequate remedy, were found ineffective. Nor does this involve a criticism of the law. The administration of justice is not mechanical, but human, and when the law is made with enough safeguards to protect the rights of the innocent, it of necessity affords technical refuge and delay to the guilty. Every defendant demanded a jury and exhausted every dilatory privilege in its selection, so that at one time there were so many jury cases pending in the police court that trials were continued for six months and longer, only to be recontinued because of the inability of the courts to deal with the multitude of cases; and in the end all of the cases were dismissed. There was no other practical result than a demonstration of the inefficiency of this method of enforcement.

"If the same method has been used in many cities besides our own and we can find no city in which an actual and permanent victory has been won, are we not justified in doubting the advisability of going back to it in Cleveland?"

The theory of administrative repression by direct police intervention is next noticed at length. It is the method systematically employed by Mayor Johnson, and the results, he believes, fully warrant the contention that it has proved the best method for the morals of the city that has yet been attempted. Under it he claims that "gambling has been practically wiped out in Cleveland." "Wine-rooms have been abolished," and "the most dangerous class of saloons, namely those with the bar in front, connected directly with a disorderly house in the rear, have been stamped out by means of this policy."

"In regard to the liquor laws," he observes, "our policy has been to repress in cases of flagrant violation; that is, where a place was open at forbidden times and where brawling or disorder was permitted or where men were allowed to

drink to intoxication. Beginning with the worst of these, we struck at them by stationing uniformed officers at their doors until their trade was driven away, and the idea was forced upon their proprietors that it was better 'business' to limit their excesses than to try to run in disregard of order and decency."

He argues that indiscriminate suppression would result in general resistance and evasion.

"It would create, what does not now exist, a community of interest and purpose between orderly and disorderly saloon-keepers. It would open the way, moreover, for the resumption of business by the indecent and disorderly saloons which are now repressed. These considerations suggest to me the desirability of continuing the present distinction between orderly and disorderly saloons."

The Mayor does not defend administrative repression as a general principle, but has resorted to it because after the deepest and most earnest and conscientious study of the problem he has become convinced that it is the only practicable method of general enforcement under conditions that now obtain and is the method that will best promote the moral welfare of the community.

"I do not claim," he says, "that conditions in Cleveland are ideal, nor that there is not much yet to be done; but I do believe that this policy of repression, operating as it does directly upon the persons guilty of excesses and untrammelled by long drawn out and technical court proceedings and delays, has been successful. My belief in this regard rests upon the fact that Cleveland is freer now from gross forms of vice and law-breaking than at any previous period. And comparison of the conditions in Cleveland with those of any other city of her size, where either the first or second policy to which I have referred is followed, will satisfy you that the results of the policy of this administration are good.

It is the determination of this administration that vice and crime shall not be protected in Cleveland, and equally that there shall be no blackmail, graft or corruption attendant upon official dealings with it."

### III. THE MAYOR'S MESSAGE TO THE CLERGYMEN.

Mr. Johnson is not content, however, with frankly meeting the question of the clergymen and justifying his course by citing results as they are exhibited in Cleveland as superior to those that have followed other courses of procedure in the city in the past and in other municipalities; for he is profoundly convinced that there is a far "deeper and more fundamental condition" which imperatively demands the most thoughtful consideration on the part of clergymen and others in positions to influence public opinion, because it lies at the root of a vast amount of vice, crime, poverty and misery. And it is to these views of the Mayor that we wish especially to call the attention of our readers. They are the utterances of a true statesman—the ideas of a genuine apostle of true democracy who not only thinks deeply but who dares to speak his thoughts and live the truth he believes holds redemptive power for society.

"Crime and vice," he observes, "are not the natural consequences of normal human impulses. They are largely if not almost wholly products of environment. Society itself creates the economic condition in which the people live, and the pressure of the means of subsistence upon opportunity is such that men are driven out of their true course as a result of the despair caused by inequality of opportunity and the hopelessness of an unequal struggle. More men drink because they are miserable than are miserable because they drink; and the unfortunates who lead lives of vice do not choose that occupation from natural preference or waywardness of disposition, but are forced to begin and to persist in

such lives by the pressure of conditions which make the earning of an honest and adequate livelihood difficult and sometimes impossible. I do not believe that the whole penalty of society's aggregate sin should be visited upon its weakest sinners, nor that wholesale arrests and indiscriminate fines can do more than harden the lives and condition of those who are driven to vice and crime as a desperate resort. That society must protect itself and restrain law-breaking goes without saying; and this administration, by the direct pressure of the police force, and by the arrest and punishment of those who in their wrong-doing pass beyond technical law violation, and foster the growth of worse forms of crime, is attempting to do that thing. I earnestly invite you, however, to join with me in an effort to do the larger thing—to alleviate the hard social conditions which produce the environment out of which this crime and vice grow. *To remove causes is better than to deal only with effects.* As a temporary measure and until the fight on the causes shall be won, direct repression must be applied to the effects; but we must never regard these measures in the light of remedies, for back of it all lies the source of the evil—involuntary poverty.

"When I became Mayor of Cleveland, it was with certain very definite aims directed to the accomplishment of this larger good which I have pointed out. I have never lost sight of that as the main thing. Yet the critics of this administration are forced to admit that as an incident to the accomplishment of these larger things, good government even in the ordinary sense of honest and efficient administration has been achieved. By following the policy which I have outlined, the conditions in Cleveland have been vastly improved. We found it a city of unregulated vice and crime, and now gambling has been driven out, the wine-room closed, the combination saloon expelled and a far better condition of

#### 404 *Mayor Johnson on Municipal Control of Vice and Social Evils.*

public order created. But this has been incidental to our efforts for the larger objects we had in view.

"We are both seeking to exterminate crime and vice and misery. These are for the most part but consequences of involuntary poverty, resulting from the existence of law-made privilege whereby some men get more than they earn, while the vast mass of mankind earns more than it gets. It is the existence of this legalized privilege in society which creates the slums of a great city and condemns a large portion of every city population to lives of vice and crime, by depriving them of that equal opportunity in life which nature accords and which our fundamental law theoretically recognizes. This is the central point of the great problem, to which the specific evils to which you refer, vast and degrading though they are, are only as effect to cause.

"Powerful interests, misleading phrases and forms of law too often serve to blind us to the real immorality of privilege. But when we shall have thoroughly realized what I believe to be a final truth—that involuntary poverty is the most menacing fact in modern society, and almost the sole cause of vice and crime, and that involuntary poverty itself is but the logical and necessary result of law-made privilege, all good men will unite in attacking it. When privilege has disappeared, the problems which you gentlemen present will in large measure be solved.

"It too often happens, when genuine efforts at fundamentally remedying such conditions are made, that the more superficial are emphasized for the purpose of dividing those of us who at such a time should be united. This usually results in frustrating honest effort in both directions. In such emergencies it behooves men with the responsibilities that you and I have to bear, to be upon our guard.

"In your philosophy of life there is the idea of the Fatherhood of God. So there is in mine. In yours, as in mine, therefore, there must also be the idea of the brotherhood of man. I appeal to you, then, to give me your encouragement and support, not only in enforcing as best we can such laws of our statute books as are provided for the maintenance of order and decency in our community, but also in bringing as near to an end as in our power it lies, the unbrotherly legal conditions, which, by giving valuable privileges under the law to some, thereby deny just natural rights to so many others and consequently make so much of the poverty and misery from which indecency and disorder proceed."

#### IV. THE RESULT TO CHURCH AND STATE IF CLERGYMEN SHOULD ACT UPON THE MAYOR'S MESSAGE.

Mayor Johnson's message to the clergymen is big with potential power for good, both to the church and the state. If any considerable number of clergymen should take up the serious study of social and economic conditions with a view single to finding out the fundamental facts touching the natural rights of man to the resources of nature—to the common gift of the common father—that must be recognized before we can enjoy equality of opportunities and of rights; if they should determine to find out the great tap-roots of vice, poverty, crime and human misery, instead of contenting themselves with the superficial appearances and effects, they would see and feel as never before the meaning of the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man and the law of solidarity that imposes certain high and holy obligations which, if fulfilled, would lead to the transformation of the world; because the great corollary facts following from the recognition and acceptance of these truths, which necessarily embody justice, would exalt mankind, illuminate reason, develop the soul side of life, and foster love in



every heart, thus bringing on earth the kingdom of God. And with this new view of age-long truth illuminating their lives, they would go before the world with lips touched with divine fire, with hearts burning with the love that places the rights and the weal of humanity above all baser things, and with brains aflame with a passion for justice, so that no thought of material wealth from questionable sources, for church or school, and no thought of personal ease or comfort could influence them or swerve them from their high mission, any more than Jesus, the prophets or the apostles could have been swerved from their mission by the temptation of material wealth or power.

If clergymen should awaken to this new demand of our wonderful age and become the apostles of justice, human rights and love, a marvelous transformation would result. In the first place, they would find their empty churches crowded to overflowing. They would find to-day as in the earlier days the poor—the great surging masses of the poor—would hear and hear gladly the gospel of truth and justice, and they would soon find themselves again the moral leaders of the age and in the very center of a great new spiritual renaissance such as has ever been witnessed when the pulpit has placed justice, love and the rights of the people above dogmatic theology, churchly rites and creedal theories. They would find the church again that great moral power that it was in the infancy of Christianity, while it was yet pure and uncorrupted by the lure of wealth and power (when the words of James relating to the acquirers of tainted gold weighed as living truth with the ministers of the gospel). For the heart of the people yearns for that spiritual truth that expresses itself in the Golden Rule; it yearns for that religion that translates itself into a life of consecrated service to mankind—a life that contrasts with the lives of those who devote themselves to abstract and general issues, to

theological dogmas and creeds, even as the life of service and ever-present helpfulness and the teachings of human love and world-wide justice of the great Nazarene contrasted with the endless disputations and dogmatizing about the Mosaic law and questions of theology of the religious leaders of Jesus' day.

We believe most profoundly that if our clergy, or any considerable part of them, should experience this new spiritual birth which awakens a deathless love for humanity, for the poor, the crushed, the weak and the defenceless ones, we should see in the brief space of a decade as great a change as that which marked England when Whitefield and the Wesleys galvanized the nation with spiritual life.

#### V. THE MORAL LETHARGY OF ENGLAND IN THE DAYS OF WALPOLE.

There is a striking resemblance between the England of Horace Walpole's administration and the Republic to-day—so much of a similarity indeed, that a glance at the period that preceded the advent of the great founders of Methodism will, we think, serve to emphasize the thought we wish to impress.

In the days when Horace Walpole was at the zenith of his power, the business, economic, political, social and religious life of England was under the spell of a soul-deadening materialism. Then as now political corruption was rife. Low moral ideals had taken the place of the austere concepts of the Puritan period. The bitter religious and theological controversies of the earlier time had given place to nation-wide religious indifference, very noticeable in the life of the people in every stratum of society, though many whose lives gave the lie to the ethical teachings of Jesus still outwardly conformed most punctiliously to the rites and observances of the church and posed as its supporters and defenders. Everywhere was seen that moral lethargy always apparent when the civic life of a nation is at a low ebb; when the eternal

moral verities of justice and equity on the part of government in its relation to the people are held lightly and subordinated to the selfish interests of privileged classes; when man counts less than money.

The historian Green, himself an ardent churchman who could not be accused of having undue sympathy with the Non-Conformists, has not only given us a vivid picture of the state of business, political, social and religious life preceding the advent of the great Methodist clergymen, but he has also shown how society, hungering for the bread of life, for justice and love, quickly responded to the message of Whitefield and the Wesleys in such a manner as to change the whole face of national social and religious life.

It was in the midst of the long and masterful political sway of Walpole that we see English life come compellingly under the spirit of materialistic commercialism. A craze for the quick acquisition of gold became a master-passion, drying up, as is ever the case when the insanity of the gambler infects society, the wellsprings of that spirituality that is as essential to the upward sweep of civilization as oxygen is essential to physical life.

"The sudden increase of English commerce," observes Green, "begot at this moment the mania of speculation. Ever since the age of Elizabeth the unknown wealth of Spanish-America had acted like a spell upon the imagination of Englishmen, and Harley gave countenance to a South Sea Company, which promised a reduction of the public debt."

In return for special privileges desired, a band of promoters and speculators, after the manner of the Wall-street gamblers and public-service franchise grabbers of our day, held out promised benefits never to be realized. Only in a period of civil decadence and moral lethargy would the nation have yielded to the lure. "It was in vain that Walpole warned the Ministry and the country against this 'dream.' Both went mad; and in 1720 bubble Company followed bubble Com-

pany, till the inevitable reaction brought a general ruin in its train. The crash brought Stanhope to the grave. Of his colleagues, many were found to have received bribes from the South Sea Company to back its frauds. Craggs, the Secretary of State, died of terror at the investigation; Aislaby, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sent to the Tower."

When moral idealism is eclipsed by the gambler's greed, when the materialism of the market obscures the cause of justice, exalting the dollar above the man, corruption in government as inevitably follows as night the day. Hence we find, according to Green:

"The wealth of the Whig houses was lavishly spent in securing a monopoly of the small and corrupt constituencies which made up a large part of the borough representation. It was spent yet more unscrupulously in parliamentary bribery."

Nor was this all, or even the worst. Whenever the mania for gambling dominates the public imagination and the demands of commercialism weigh more heavily than those of justice and equity, there is a rapid drifting downward seen in every stratum of society. Religion—the pure and undefiled religion of the apostle James—is everywhere at a discount. Hence it is not surprising to find these conditions prevailing among the educated and wealthy classes.

"In the higher circles 'everyone laughs,' said Montesquieu on his visit to England, 'if one talks of religion.' Of the prominent statesmen of the time the greater part were unbelievers in any form of Christianity, and distinguished for the grossness and immorality of their lives. Drunkenness and foul talk were thought no discredit to Walpole. A late prime minister, the Duke of Grafton, was in the habit of appearing with his mistress at the play. Purity and fidelity to the marriage vow were sneered out of fashion; and Lord Chesterfield, in his letters to

his son, instructs him in the art of seduction as part of a polite education."

If such were the conditions at the social zenith, those at the nadir were scarcely more hopeful.

"At the other end of the social scale," observes Green, "lay the masses of the poor. They were ignorant and brutal to a degree which it is hard to conceive, for the increase of population which followed on the growth of towns and the development of commerce had been met by no effort for their religious or educational improvement. Not a new parish had been created. Hardly a single new church had been built. . . . A Welsh bishop avowed that he had seen his own diocese but once, and habitually resided at the lakes of Westmoreland. . . . In the streets of London gin-shops at one time invited every passer-by to get drunk for a penny, or dead drunk for two-pence. Much of this social degradation was due without doubt to the apathy and sloth of the priesthood. A shrewd, if prejudiced, observer, Bishop Burnet, brands the English clergy of his day as the most lifeless in Europe, 'the most remiss of their labors in private and the least severe of their lives.'"

Such was the England of Walpole. But as his long term of power neared its close, we see society everywhere stirring as one in a troubled sleep. On every hand signs of a general awakening were visible.

VI. THE SPIRITUAL RENAISSANCE IN-  
AUGURATED BY WHITEFIELD AND  
THE WESLEYS.

Pitt, then young and uninfluential, led a band in Parliament whom the cynical Walpole called the "boys." They thundered against the venality and corruption of government and for a time their words fell on dull ears or were ridiculed and the statements denied. Later, however, we find this political protest against ministerial corruption everywhere taken up.

"New moral forces" were at work. "A new sense of social virtue," "a new sense of religion," was stirring "however blindly in the minds of Englishmen."

"The stir," says Green, "showed itself markedly in a religious revival which dates from the later years of Walpole's ministry; and which began in a small knot of Oxford students. . . . Three figures detached themselves from the group as soon as, on its transfer to London in 1738, it attracted public attention. . . . Each found his special work in the task to which the instinct of the new movement led it from the first, that of carrying religion and morality to the vast masses of population which lay concentrated in the towns or around the mines and collieries of Cornwall and the north. Whitefield, a servitor of Pembroke College, was above all the preacher of the revival. Speech was governing English politics; and the religious power of speech was shown when a dread of 'enthusiasm' closed against the new apostles the pulpits of the Established Church and forced them to preach in the fields. Their voice was soon heard in the wildest and most barbarous corners of the land, among the bleak moors of Northumberland, or in the dens of London, or in the long galleries where in the pauses of his labor the Cornish miner listens to the sobbing of the sea. Whitefield's preaching was such as England had never heard before. . . . It was no common enthusiast who could wring gold from the close-fisted Franklin and admiration from the fastidious Horace Walpole, or who could look down from the top of the green knoll at Kingswood on twenty thousand colliers, grimy from the Bristol coal-pits, and see as he preached the tears 'making white channels down their blackened cheeks.'"

On the long-neglected and ignorant masses—the disenfranchised and socially exiled multitude—the effect of Whitefield's preaching and that of his co-workers was indescribable; but it quickly aroused the scorn, hatred and spirit of

persecution on the part of smug conventionalism.

"Their lives were often in danger, they were mobbed, they were ducked, they were stoned, they were smothered with filth. But the enthusiasm they aroused was equally passionate. . . . Charles Wesley, a Christ Church student, came to add sweetness to this sudden and startling light. He was the 'sweet singer' of the movement. His hymns expressed the fiery conviction of its converts in lines so chaste and beautiful that its more extravagant features disappeared. . . . A passion for hymn-singing and a new musical impulse were aroused in the people which gradually changed the face of public devotion throughout England.

"But it was his elder brother, John Wesley, who embodied in himself not this or that side of the new movement, but the movement itself. Even at Oxford, where he resided as a fellow of Lincoln, he had been looked upon as head of the group of Methodists. . . . In power as a preacher he stood next to Whitefield; as a hymn-writer he stood second to his brother Charles. But while combining in some degree the excellencies of either, he possessed qualities in which both were utterly deficient; an indefatigable industry, a cool judgment, a command over others, a faculty of organization, a singular union of patience and moderation with an imperious ambition, which marked him as a ruler of men. He was older than any of his colleagues at the start of the movement, and he outlived them all. His life indeed almost covers the century; he had besides a learning and a skill in writing which no other of the Methodists possessed. He was born in 1703 and lived on till 1791, and the Methodist body had passed through every phase of its history before he sank into the grave at the age of eighty-eight.

"The great body which he thus founded numbered a hundred thousand members at his death, and now counts its

members in England and America by millions. But the Methodists themselves were the least result of the Methodist revival. Its action upon the Church broke the lethargy of the clergy; and the 'Evangelical' movement, which found representatives like Newton and Cecil within the pale of the Establishment, made the fox-hunting parson and the absentee rector at last impossible."

#### VII. THE DEMAND TO-DAY UPON THE CLERGY GREATER AND MORE EXACTING THAN EVER BEFORE.

Conditions to-day are so strikingly similar in essential particulars to those which preceded the great moral and spiritual renaissance described above, and the signs of heart-hunger on the part of the people and the general symptoms of the awakening of a new civic spirit are so much in evidence that we feel justified in predicting precisely such a moral awakening, if any considerable number of our present-day clergymen should lead a crusade for the restoration of the ethics of primitive Christianity,—for the enthronement of the Golden Rule as the rule of life. But the demand on the ministry to-day is far greater than that of any earlier day, because we are living in a world in which the intellectual horizon is more extended than ever before—a world in which science, education and discovery have broadened and changed the concepts of mankind, making it necessary for clergymen to study the fundamental laws that underlie social progress and the obligations imposed by the law of solidarity. The gospel of to-morrow, to be effective on the imagination of man, must incorporate in a living, practical way the idea of the brotherhood of man that necessarily follows the concept of the fatherhood of God. It must address itself to the reason as well as the heart. It must meet the high demands of justice and of equity. In a word, it must insist upon making the new ideal of emancipated manhood—the watchword of de-



mocracy, justice, freedom and fraternity—a living reality instead of an empty shibboleth. The church of the future, to be a power, must imitate the life of Jesus by ministering first to the needs of the perishing body, and through the door of justice and love lead the people to the heights. Whenever the sick came to Jesus, he first healed their bodily afflictions. When the multitude were a-hungred, he fed them. And so all through his ministry he made the door of active

present-day service the passageway by which he led the wanderers to the heights. So in his teachings, the parable of the Good Samaritan emphasized the crowning and summing up of his ethics enunciated in the Golden Rule. The church of to-morrow can become powerful, we believe, only through appealing at once to the brain, the heart and the sense of justice in the people, and by making social justice the subject of immediate concern.

## INCURABLE!

BY ALBERT R. CARMAN,  
Author of *The Pensionnaires*, etc.

### I.

MRS. MORTON stepped quickly from her carriage and came as near to hurrying up the steps of her sister's house as she would permit herself to do while her coachman watched. An annoyed puzzlement lay in her eyes, and her chin had a pugnacious set. The maid let her in without a word and she went straight up stairs to her sister's boudoir.

Ethel heard her coming, but did not follow her natural impulse to meet her in the hall. She did not care to risk having their first words carry down the open staircase to a servant's ears.

"Well?" said Mrs. Morton as she stepped into the boudoir and swung the door to behind her.

"Well," began Ethel with a firm mildness that seemed habitual to her; "things are not going right—and I thought you ought to know."

"Oh, I knew something had happened from your voice on the telephone; but what is it?"—impatiently.

"The marriage may not be—may be postponed."

"Never!"

Ethel was silent; and the two women looked straight into each other's eyes. First there was shocked enquiry in Mrs.

Morton's eyes and half-fearful confirmation in Ethel's; and then there was pain in both.

"He told her himself, did n't he?" asked Mrs. Morton presently.

Ethel nodded.

"And she——?"

"She fainted, and he had to summon the family."

"She was unworthy of his confidence," declared Mrs. Morton decisively, plainly finding relief in a mental movement in some direction.

The pain came back into Ethel's eyes. "It was a terrible shock to the poor girl," she said simply.

"But his frankness—his manliness in telling her before marriage—when so many men would let her find it out afterward," protested Mrs. Morton, her excitement growing. "She should have risen to that."

"She is prostrated, I learn," said Ethel, her mildness becoming more obviously firm than usual.

"And Paul?" cried Mrs. Morton, turning quickly on her sister.

"He has not been home since," returned Ethel, her eyes wide with pain.

"He has n't gone back, surely—after having broken off with the creature,"

exclaimed Mrs. Morton, almost hysterically.

"I do n't know," said Ethel in little more than a whisper.

"He shall not! It is infamous!" cried Mrs. Morton, moving about the room aimlessly as if to relieve the tenseness of the strain on her. "He has dragged us in disgrace for years—us, his sisters!—there are times when I can hardly look my own husband in the face—and now if Stella does not take him and save him, he will go back again. It will be she who pushes him back——"

"Oh, Carrie!" and Ethel turned a reproachful face to her maddened sister.

"Yes, it will," declared Mrs. Morton with fierce determination. "He had broken it all off—and it was all over—and if he has gone back again!——"

"I do n't believe he has."

"Well, he will—if she persists—Ethel! I am going to see Stella and show her her duty—her duty to him—her duty to us!"

## II.

Mrs. Morton had to wait sometime in the Norwood drawing-room before Stella came down. And then it was a pale Stella with tremulous eye-lids, and soft lips that would stay quiet in no position for more than a moment.

Mrs. Morton went to her quickly, took both her hands and kissed her lips. And Stella was still clinging to the kiss when Mrs. Morton withdrew her face.

"I am so sorry for you, my poor girl," said Mrs. Morton.

Stella stood without speaking.

"The sorrow that many women bear has come to you very soon," said Mrs. Morton; "but you must be brave."

Stella turned her eyes on the healthy, firm-chinned, confident-looking woman before her as if she were trying to take an interest in what she was saying but was not quite sure that she did.

"Paul had the manliness to tell you before your marriage," went on Mrs. Morton. "He might have left you to find out afterward."

Stella looked up quickly and stepped

back. Another blow had fallen on her sensitive consciousness.

"But he had given it all up for you," continued Mrs. Morton. "And now he has not been home since he left here."

Stella stepped quickly forward.

"Where?" she asked.

Mrs. Morton shook her head. "We do not know," she replied to the eager eyes. "But it is for you to say where he will spend his life," she added significantly.

Again Stella stepped back, and, turning, sank into a chair. Mrs. Morton quietly followed her example, and waited for her to speak.

"He was here again last night," remarked Stella shortly, her listlessness coming back again.

"Paul?"

"Yes."

"Did you see him?"

"No—I could not."

Mrs. Morton pressed her lips firmly together, and her round chin seemed to come forward a trifle.

"Are you going to take the responsibility of driving him back to—to disgrace?" she demanded hardily of the stricken girl.

Stella sat up quickly; her eyes dilated. "But he said—he—would not go—" she began.

A flash of contempt played across Mrs. Morton's direct eyes.

"You—think he will——?" went on Stella.

"I think he is a man," said Mrs. Morton steadily.

"But he promised me!"

Mrs. Morton's face visibly whitened. "The disgrace of it killed his mother, and he knew it—and he did not stop," she said.

"But—" began Stella again; and then, with a quick look at Mrs. Morton to see if she knew what she was about to say, she sat in nerve-strained silence.

"Yes; he would give it up for you," said Mrs. Morton, answering her unspoken protest. "He has set his heart on being worthy of you. But you must take his sacrifice. He will not give it up—and you too."

## III.

The heavy Parker carriage was making its slow way up from the wharf some six months after the November day on which Mrs. Morton learned from her sister that the longed-for marriage of their erring brother might not take place, and then drove over to Stella Norwood's to "show her her duty." Mr. and Mrs. Paul Parker were just home from a honeymoon in Europe, and Ethel and Mrs. Morton had been down with the carriage to meet them: A dress-suit case covered with foreign labels sat on the box beside the coachman; a smaller bag lay between the feet of the quartette in the carriage; and each held something fragile and precious which could not be left to come up with the trunks.

Stella wore a face submerged in content, and looked out the carriage windows with glad eyes on the familiar streets.

"I can never help feeling," said Mrs. Morton, "that paying duty is like paying blackmail."

"I do n't mind paying it," said Paul, some remnants of a late annoyance still audible in his voice. "But I can't stand the offensive way in which the officials assume that you may be a perjurer and a thief."

"I am afraid," laughed Mrs. Morton, "that I am both every time I come back from abroad."

"I do n't admit it," declared Paul. "I'm a sudden free-trade convert—that is all."

"Well, you had a good time anyway," said Ethel, addressing Stella.

"Very!" exclaimed Stella, her face lighting up. "I am not quite sure that I wanted to come home"—and she tried to look shocked at the enormity of her remark.

"Oh, you are to be forgiven that—on a honeymoon," Ethel assured her.

Paul's eyes traveled with amused fondness over the erect figure of his bride, up to her smiling face with the sea-tan still on it.

"When I tell you that Stella has learned

how to go into raptures over those wooden old Italian paintings with the wry necks and the splay feet—you remember them—look as if they had been done by the drawing-class of a Brobdingnagian kindergarten——"

Here Stella's gloved hand thrust suddenly over Paul's mouth stopped his satirical drawl, and he dodged laughing into his corner.

"I did get to love them," declared Stella, a girlish seriousness mingling with the mischief in her face. "We were a long time in Siena, and I used to go over nearly every day to the *Belle Arti* to look at their curious old saints and Madonnas. You must n't think of them as modern paintings at all"—the seriousness was now in full possession of her face—"the artists had to do everything in a conventional way; but you can see them actually struggling to express themselves inside of their limiting conventions——"

"Like a society woman who has discovered an idea in her head," broke in Mrs. Morton with a round, low laugh she had.

"I had to listen to that sort of thing day after day," said Paul from his corner, shaking his head pathetically.

"You had begun to like them, too," said Stella to him with sweet reproachfulness. "You know you had—you admitted it."

"Under torture," shot in Paul, sinking farther into his corner.

"Incorrigible!" breathed Stella at him; and as her eyes shone over at him, they grew more and more tender until she forgot to look away.

Mrs. Morton moved a little uncomfortably in the mild light of this stray beam from the honeymoon, and looked pointedly out of the window; but Ethel looked at Stella's radiant face as an elder sister might at a happy girl.

## IV.

Ethel and Mrs. Morton were walking among the flower-beds of the Morton summer-place. When they lifted their faces to look to the east, they could see

across wild fields, and green rounded hills with white gashes in them, to the shining gray of the sea. When they looked to the west, their own spacious gray-stone summer "cottage" with its gay awnings and irregular complement of verandas and wide-swung windows filled the view; while here and there to the north and south were other hedge-defended gardens and luxurious, misnamed "cottages." There was a sharp touch in the air, and even the vegetation by the sea showed that autumn was well advanced.

"I suppose you know," said Mrs. Morton, "that Paul has not been at his office for over two weeks."

"No; I did not," replied Ethel in a low tone.

For the next few minutes they moved among the beds in silence, but it was plain they were both thinking of something else. Mrs. Morton twitched sharply at the flowers she stooped for, and moved rapidly from place to place. Ethel would disengage a blossom from its foliage and lift it into the light, and then stand or stoop staring at it, forgetting what she was looking at.

"I thought," said Ethel presently, "when the baby came that he would take his old interest in his profession."

"H'm!" snorted Mrs. Morton impatiently. "That man seems to have lost all proper pride. If he were not my brother, I could almost despise him."

"Oh, Carrie!"

"Well, look at him! There is no more brilliant lawyer in New York than he is. He might be at the head of his profession. His firm have kept his name all these years because of what he promised to be. And now he does nothing!"

"But he did go back to his office for a while."

"Yes; until they began to give him some real work to do"—and Mrs. Morton was off again, briskly snipping here and jabbing there.

V.

Paul Parker sat at a downtown restau-

rant table where he could command a view of the street. He was taking his luncheon alone, for none of his friends knew that he was in the city that day. He had not been to the office, though he had kissed Stella and "the boy" good-bye in the morning on the understanding that "Daddy was going to work." Stella had even made a great play of pretending that she was telling "the boy" where to carry his dinner-pail at noon.

A waiter who had been regarding him from behind over the top of a screen, with open contempt on his smug, vulgar face, now came to his side.

"Ah!" said Paul with satisfaction, "Is n't this your table?"

"No"—with disgust—"the immigrant that runs this place has moved me to another room."

"What room?"

"The pink."

"I'll remember."

"Dutchy may move me again"—in restrained resignation.

"Oh, well!—Any news?"—looking up at the shifty eyes that were set well back in the pallid, greasy-skinned face of the man who vulgarized his evening dress.

"She is livin' with a chap called Dan. Steacy—a broker—over in Jersey; nice little villa—a maid—credit at a livery—" The waiter stopped, and glanced with a familiar, "we-understand-each-other" sort of expression at Paul.

Paul caught the look fairly in the face and shrank from it with a disgust at himself which he hid with difficulty.

"Thanks," he said shortly.

"Want the address?"

"You might give it to me."

The waiter grinned at his assumption of carelessness, and slipped him a card. Paul dipped his finger into his vest-pocket, and when his hand went to that of the waiter, there was a crinkle and a glint of green.

"Thank you, sir!" said the waiter with habitual obsequiousness and turned slowly away.

"A moment," said Paul, looking over his shoulder. "Did she see you to know you?"



"Yes."

"Speak to you?"

"Yes."

"Well?"

"Oh!—asked after my family, you know—and how I was getting on—and how the kid was—and if you were back yet——"

Paul's slow-growing disgust came to attention at the last phrase.

"I said you were back—and at your law again——"

"Did she say anything more?"

The waiter shifted uneasily on his feet. "Oh, nothing much," he replied presently.

"What?" insistently, from Paul.

"Oh!—some woman's tommy-rot. Said she was glad to hear it—that you were a great man, and well rid of the likes of her." And the waiter grinned to cover his discomfort in repeating so much womanish sentiment.

Paul sat perfectly still looking through the window out into the street until another waiter awaked him by asking for his next order. And that afternoon, he went into the offices of his firm, and sat until closing hour at his old desk.

## VI.

Paul grew quite assiduous in the practice of the law, though his partners soon learned that it would not do to burden him with too much detail. The overmastering appetite for work which had characterized him in the first days, long ago, had not returned; but he came to the office doggedly, and had flashes of brilliant insight and inspiration in discussing difficult cases with them.

One morning, not long after the Christmas holidays, Stella was in a great state of excitement. She had got up an hour earlier than was usual with her; and, going to the kitchen, had superintended herself the making of Paul's coffee and had put the cook into quite a temper making sure that every detail of the breakfast would be exactly as Paul liked it.

For Paul was to plead a case in court that morning. It was an affair of such

importance that Paul's picture had been in the papers twice in connection with it already.

Anxiously she regarded him from behind the cream-jug and breakfast cups as he ate his orange. She feared that he looked pale; but she would not let him know it for worlds. She must be cheerful and send him off in good spirits.

"Will you have time for luncheon, do you think?" she asked as if it were a matter of the gravest importance.

"Sure!" said Paul gaily. "The court eats, you know."

"Yes; but I was afraid you might be tempted to read up then"; and her eyes pleaded with him to do nothing so foolish.

"Oh, no. Henderson is fagging out the law."

"Now"—with brisk importance—"will you just try that egg, Paul, and see that it is not too hard. If it is the least bit hard, you must n't take it. I'll have another boiled."

Paul tapped it gently. "It's prime!" he said with anticipatory enjoyment in his tones.

"Let me see!"—with playful tyranny.

Paul held it up for her inspection.

"Yes," she said, gravely. "I think that will do."

"You must remember, darling," he said, protestingly, "that I am suffering from no mortal disease just now."

"But it is so important that you should feel at your best this morning," she explained with an effort not to be too serious.

When he was ready to go, "the boy" was held up to kiss him "good-bye," and then to kiss him "good luck," and then to kiss him a wish that "Daddy would win." And then two wifely lips were held out to him, tremulous and passionate; and while they pressed against his, he was conscious that the voice behind them was whispering—"Success! Success! Dearest, Success!"

When addressing the court, he had the pleasurable sensation that he was doing well; but when the counsel for the other side replied, he knew that he had lacked

for detail. He knew that he should have worked harder and got the detail. But why should he? It was drudgery—But, damn it all! that fellow was winning the case because he had been a drudge. He had a poor style about him, too; but he must have searched the law-libraries of the world for so many parallel cases. Paul knew from the way his partners looked at him that they thought he was losing his grip. But he was n't. He was just as good as he ever was—only he did not make a slave of himself any longer. He could see a point twice as quickly as any of those chaps—their minds were dray-horses. But they cared nothing about living—they worked—worked—worked—

The opposing counsel was now entering upon quite a new field which Paul had left entirely unexplored. He could have made a good deal out of it, too, for his side; but he had not had time while at the office to look it up properly. Jove! there was a slip; and Paul was up calling the attention of the court to it. The court ruled promptly with him, and Paul looked triumphantly at his partners. There was a gleam of relief on their faces; but it was such as the partisans of a beaten player might wear at a chance good shot which, however, could not affect the final result. Again the stream of fact and precedent flowed from the dull opposing counsel, and the court took notes industriously. Paul knew that he was being beaten. It was not enough in this field merely to be brilliant.

And for years he had been king in his world without an effort!

Bah! These grubbing lawyers! What did they matter? What did their opinion of him matter? A woman, the blue-veined snow of whose shoulder was worth them all, called that elder partner of his "four eyes"—and a good name it was!—and the other partner was—let me see!—oh, yes!—"spindle-shanks"; and a derisive smile lay on Paul's face which had no reference to the pertinence of the case which the opposing counsel was just then quoting.

## VII.

Judgment in the case was delivered two weeks later; but Paul was not in court. He read about it that evening in the *Evening Journal* which was thrown into the porch of a little villa in Jersey.

"See you've got your name in the papers again," said Someone.

"Yes"—drily.

"Thought you were n't going to bother with law any more."

"I'm not."

"Lawyers are a bad lot"—emphatically. "They cheat their living out of honest people."

Paul smiled. He liked to see those great eyes flash indignation.

"Why, they even cheated you out of this case, I see."

"I lost it."

"Oh, they'll do you. They'll take all your money if you bother with them."

## VIII.

Again Mrs. Morton waited in the Norwood drawing-room for Stella to come down. It was one year after Paul had lost his "case." Again, she was going to appeal to Stella to do her duty.

Stella came into the room with a firm step, her head held erect, her eyes storm-swept but resolute.

"Stella," said Mrs. Morton. "I've come to beg of you to reconsider."

"I have considered, and re-considered, and re-re-considered," returned Stella.

"I know you have been long-suffering," admitted Mrs. Morton.

"Long-suffering!" cried Stella. "My heart has been torn out in fragments. If it had not been for my boy, I never would have endured it half so long."

"And for your boy's sake now—" began Mrs. Morton.

"It is for my boy's sake that I am enduring all this publicity," said Stella. "I want no blackguard to have a father's claim to him."

Mrs. Morton looked at her with level eyes. "I shall not dispute that epithet," she said, "although it applies to my own

brother. But you are not the only woman he has made suffer. He killed his mother—"

"Yes," broke in Stella. "That is what you said when you came here years ago—years ago—and told me that I could save him—told me that if I did not save him, it would be my hand that would push him back into disgrace."

"I thought you could," breathed Mrs. Morton.

"My God! What right had you to think about a thing of that kind. You ought to have been sure—sure before you sacrificed my life on—on the chance."

"I?—Sacrificed your life?"

"Yes"—firmly, her eyes blazing right upon Mrs. Morton's—"You were the married woman—the woman of experience—you pretended to know men—and he was your brother. I was a young girl who knew nothing—nothing! 'Duty' was a big word to me; and you used it pitilessly—pitilessly. And I gave my very soul to him." Her eyes flooded with tears of self-pity, and she moved away toward the window.

"Then it is no use to plead?"

"None!—He is dead!—Do you think"—her voice steadied with an earnest scorn—"that the flaccid creature, without ambition, without honor, who quarrels with another man for a woman they have both had, like dogs in the street, is the husband I married?"

Mrs. Morton did not answer, but said after a moment: "Well, I have made my last effort to save him." It was plain that she made a virtue of it, and thought that she might well wash her hands of him now.

"Yes," said Stella, her tones growing deeper. "And your last effort was to 'procure' a maiden for him."

"Stella!" Mrs. Morton's face was red with anger.

"What right had he to marry me?" demanded Stella, never giving a step. "You knew that he had no right. You

were older and wiser—and I was a child. I would know now."

"I won't listen to such insulting talk," rapped out Mrs. Morton ineffectively.

"If there is a bar of justice in the universe, you will!" returned Stella.

"Yours was a criminal conspiracy against me. It could never have 'saved' your brother, and you knew it. It might have kept him outwardly a respectable married man, and saved *you* from disgrace. It might have induced him to abandon a woman he had no right to abandon! But after years of living on her level—seeking the approval of her world—he never could have been made such a man again as my young girl's heart thought him. Our home could never have been more than the refuge of a crippled man—"

"But you knew—all that," Mrs. Morton managed to say.

"My girl's instinct did," said Stella; "but you—you talked it down. You made me believe there was still a Paul Parker to be saved."

"The worst of sinners are saved," said Mrs. Morton, steadying herself by taking hold of a theological rock.

"Yes," said Stella; "but not by committing a greater sin. If he married that woman—"

"Shocking!" cried Mrs. Morton, feeling that Stella was now delivering herself into her hands. "You cannot mean that."

"God has so made it," said Stella solemnly, "that when a man and a woman mate, their souls marry whether they will or not, and grow more and more like each other. There may be no ceremony, but there is marriage. Your brother and I married, and my soul is sick yet with the dirt he left on it."

"It is well," said Mrs. Morton, turning to go, "that all women are not so high-strung as you are."

"I am not so sure," said Stella; and they bowed to each other in farewell.

ALBERT R. CARMAN.

Montreal, Canada.

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## THE BATTLE FOR CIVIC RIGHTEOUSNESS AND SOUND MORALITY IN THE EMPIRE STATE.

**Stuyvesant Fish: The Man Who Refused  
to Prostitute His Mental and Moral  
Integrity at The Behest of Wall  
Street "High Financiers."**

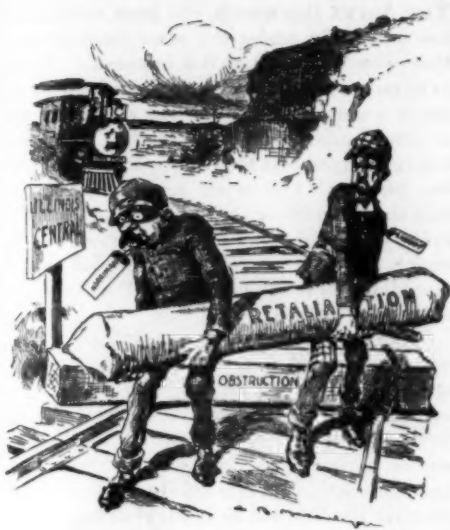
NO MAN in America has been more in the public eye of late than Stuyvesant Fish, whose discussion of "Economy" in THE ARENA for March has been so widely and favorably noted by the press. Mr. Fish has long been president of the Illinois Central Railroad and one of the leading practical railroad men of the nation. He, however, has enjoyed a distinction as honorable as unique among the great railway and financial leaders of modern times, in that he has resolutely refused to join the band of Wall-street gamblers who have brought such discredit upon American financiers by making the great utilities and natural monopolies the stakes in colossal games of chance—or rather, in schemes for enrichment through gambling with loaded dice. For the years have long since passed when the great Wall-street financiers who reap millions from long-planned and carefully-worked bull and bear measures in railway, mining and other securities took any serious chances in their speculative or gambling games. The master-spirits have long played with stacked cards. The people have been deliberately deceived by a vast and skilfully manipulated campaign of deception, with the result that going and coming the inside ring, or the "high financiers," reaps millions of unearned wealth by methods that at heart are not different from those employed by the disreputable gambling sharks who play with loaded dice.

From this community of the criminal rich Mr. Fish has resolutely held aloof, while in common with all thoughtful Americans he has regarded with increasing alarm the growing business and political subserviency to powerful interests in the hands of the modern Corsican financiers who are as shrewd intellectually as they are innocent of conscientious scruples or the old ideals of moral rectitude and business integrity.

When last autumn Mr. Fish accepted a position on the house-cleaning committee of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, he did so with the distinct understanding and pledge in advance that the investigation should be at once thorough and honest; that the motto should be "Let no guilty man escape." When, however, the Standard Oil interests found that Mr. Fish insisted on a full and complete exposure of the criminal methods and of the criminals; that he refused to allow any wrong-doers to be screened; when they found that he would not stand for a report that would make scapegoats of two or three who had already been exposed and thoroughly discredited, while shielding and protecting others guilty of flagrant crimes, they gave him to understand that he must be silent or be crushed.

Here a great business man was brought face to face with a serious situation. On the one hand was the most powerful and most unscrupulous financial organization in the nation. To expose its members or friends meant war to the death in the business world. No man knew better than did Stuyvesant Fish the significance of a threat from the Rogers-Harriman-Peabody combination. It meant that all the vast power of the Standard Oil oligarchy, reinforced as it is in every part of the political, business and social world, would be set at work, outwardly or surreptitiously, to injure, discredit, crush and destroy him. Moreover, to break with the investigating committee meant alienation and the antagonizing of a large number of business associates who were in various ways entangled in the Standard Oil web. But to remain silent in the presence of such criminality as was here revealed would be to prove recreant to his nation, to the business world and to his own higher self. It would be to prostitute his brain and moral nature, and by his silence to lend the aid of his name to the forces of dishonor and dishonesty in the great battle between sound morality and criminal "high finance." Mr. Fish, knowing full well what





Macanley, in New York World.

## THE WRECKERS.

the decision would probably mean, deliberately elected to stake his standing, prestige and business life on the hazard rather than be false to the demands of common honesty and prove himself a traitor to the policy-holders of the great insurance company. He felt, as he himself observed, that he would rather go down in a business way with clean hands than to sanction, even with silence, corrupt and dishonest practices.

Immediately all the resources of the enemy were called into requisition. At first the warfare was in the open. It was bruited abroad that there would be a reorganization of the Illinois Central Railroad or that that great system would be consolidated with the Union Pacific, Harriman's road, and that the probability was that Mr. Fish would be asked to resign from the presidency of the road. It was even intimated that so desirous were his enemies of showing their displeasure at his exhibition of honesty and incorruptibility that they would drive him from his position before the annual meeting of the stockholders.

But so outspoken and unmistakable were the editorial utterances of the great uncontrolled dailies of the land that the Standard Oil Company evidently became alarmed, and since then the conflict has been less open, a systematic guerrilla warfare being substituted.

The issue raised in this titanic conflict is far more than a battle between men. It

involves a principle about the issue of which no honest American, no high-minded citizen, can be indifferent. Simply stated, it is: Have we reached a point in the business life of our nation when any man who is aggressively honest, who refuses to screen criminality and protect corruption, can and will be destroyed by the oligarchy that already seems to believe itself to be above law, more powerful than government and the supreme arbiter in American business affairs? Shall the criminal rich successfully demonstrate upon the person, the property and the good repute of Stuyvesant Fish that the crime to be punished is *not* the taking of the property of another but rather the denunciation of the thief?

The defeat of Mr. Fish in his battle would mean that the criminal rich are the dominant or controlling factor in the business world of America to-day. There can be no escape from this conclusion. Hence no American worthy to be the citizen of a free state, no friend of civic honesty or business rectitude, can be indifferent to the issue raised in the courageous stand taken by Mr. Fish.

## The Armstrong Report.

The Armstrong Committee's report, given to the New York legislature, on February 22d, was just such a clear, strong, statesmanlike document as citizens of a republic might reasonably expect from clean, high-minded, honest public servants in the presence of the corruption, graft, infidelity to trust and conspicuous inefficiency that had been revealed by the sworn testimony before the committee. Its beneficent recommendations for radical legislative reforms are not a whit more fundamental than the situation imperatively demands. To the big thieves, the grafters, the misappropriators of trust funds, the gamblers of Wall street, the corruptors of the people's servants and the destroyers of commercial honesty who have in the past dissipated these funds or who hope in the future to get control of the enormous sums of this most sacred trust for personal enrichment, they appear drastic, but not to honest men who wish the insurance business carried on honestly for the purpose for which it was created.

The public hearings on the committee's recommendations are to begin on March 9th, after we go to press, but already the chiefs of the "Big Three" companies are massing their

Macaulay, in *New York World*.

## WHEN THE SLEEPER WAKES.

forces to defeat or emasculate the measures advocated and clearly so urgently demanded by public policy no less than the interests of the policy-holders.

The battle is essentially a battle between plutocracy on the one hand and civic interests and the protection of the insured on the other. On the one side we have the Standard Oil coterie marshaling their almost limitless resources to defeat the ends of fundamental morality, of governmental purity and the rightful protection of the most sacred of all trust funds. True, these interests are somewhat handicapped at the present time, as the arch corruptionists are silenced or are in enforced exile and the public attention is so aroused that it will be more difficult to corrupt legislators than in past years. There will be no "House of Mirth" and the lobby will be compelled to work more under cover; but let no man suppose for a moment that the elements that in the past have controlled the legislative and executive departments of New York, making the state a partner in a carnival of corruption that has spread over years and decades, will leave one stone unturned in their battle to defeat the most vital and needful recommendations of the Armstrong Committee. As Mr. Bullock shows elsewhere in

THE ARENA this month, the great companies are practically under the same management that they were before the upheaval. True, in some respects what changes have been made are of a sinister and disquieting rather than of a confidence-inspiring character. The entrance of Ryan and the coming to the front of the Standard Oil chiefs are circumstances that should convince the public that at no time in the past have the insurance companies been under the direct management of influences more inimical to the public weal than they are at the present time.

Moreover, the three great groups which represent the high financiers of New York and which now control the "Big Three" insurance companies, have their ramifications throughout the entire state—in all the public-service corporations, in many of the banks and elsewhere; and it is safe to say that every pressure possible will be brought to bear upon the legislature to render ineffective the battle against the radical reforms proposed.

Moreover, for years, as has been pointed out, the ablest, keenest and most brilliant lawyers of the country have been systematically employed by the plutocracy in its effort to gain special privileges, to emasculate legislation aimed to protect the interests of the people, and to further the corrupt practices that have prevailed in the insurance world and which prevail in the world of Wall-street

If you love me  
As I love you,  
No law can cut  
Our love in two

Bush, in *New York World*.

## A VALENTINE.



Carter, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

WILL IT KEEP THEM OFF?

finance. For decades these master-minds have deliberately prostituted their God-given talent in the basest manner, and there is every reason to believe that at no time in the past have they been so active as this same element will be from now until the close of the legislative battle in the service of their masters.

On the other hand the legislators are beginning to realize that the people are awake as they have not been awake in decades and that a swift and certain reckoning will come if they are recreant to their duties. A realization of this fact, however, should be reinforced by the people throughout the state; by petitions, by public meetings and by agitation in the columns of all daily, weekly and monthly papers not beholden to the privileged interests or to the criminal rich.

The honor of New York, the cause of sound morality and civic rectitude, no less than the protection of the policy-holders call for the enactment of every beneficent recommendation put forward by the Armstrong committee, and the legislators should be warned that the people expect the carrying out to the letter of the programme that has been proposed and that they will scrutinize their acts with a view to seeing whether or not the emissaries of privileged interests have been able to induce the legislators to give the people the shadow and not the substance of relief or to introduce

"jokers" that might be prejudicial to the interests of the policy-holders and the integrity of the state.

#### Judge Kellogg's Blow at Entrenched Rascality.

The decision of Justice Kellogg of the Supreme Court of New York in the case of Mary S. Young *versus* the Equitable Life Assurance Society is so vital in character, so far-reaching in its potential scope and so important to the despoiled policy-holders of the great insurance companies, that it affords us great pleasure to present below a brief summary of the most salient points of this ruling, prepared for THE ARENA by an able thinker intimately acquainted with the facts relating to the plundering of the policy-holders through the criminal officers, made possible by the control of the legislators and other public servants by the rich thieves and their confederates. The points emphasized are so important that they should be read by every policy-holder in the United States.

The element in power and control of the great New York life insurance companies, which the New York *World* has characterized as "entrenched rascality" must receive a severe shock, and an intimation of an earthquake to follow, in the decision of the Supreme



Carter, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

THE WATCHERS.

Court, handed down by Justice Kellogg of the Supreme Court of New York at Saratoga, New York, about February 1st. The "Walls of Jericho" which the insurance control had so carefully constructed around itself, made of financial masonry and legislative cement, to protect the insurance grafters from any attack, or even inquiry, at the hands of the policy-holders, were breached when the Supreme Court of the state of New York decided that Section 56 of the Insurance Law of New York in no way protects the officers and directors from suits by policy-holders, where the policy-holders sought to charge the directors with wrong-doing. As one of the New York dailies editorially and wisely said:

"Justice Kellogg's decision in the Young case shows how to batter down the monstrous provision known as Section 56 of the Insurance Law. This is one of the acts whose passage was procured by the Hamiltons, Fieldses and Depews, with the corrupt use of money stolen from the policy-holders, in order to defeat the best interests of those policy-holders and erect statutory fortifications around the extravagance and rascality of the insurance grafters.

"Section 56 purposed to prevent a policy-holder from suing for an accounting and from procuring the appointment of a receiver *except with the consent of the Attorney-General*. Thus if the Equitable had used \$100,000,000 to finance a thousand comic operas and another \$100,000,000 in betting on the races the policy-holder would have no redress unless the Attorney-General consented to the action. The 'Big Three' did not squander the trust funds in exactly such ventures as these, nor in such sums. But with French balls, rebates and commissions, 'counsel' fees and 'Houses of Mirth,' immense salaries and skindicates, dinners to Ambassadors and bribes to legislators, special cars, \$10,000 stenographers and gardeners and such, the millions of the policy-holders were dissipated quite as immorally and illegally as if the Equitable had been the 'angel' for a whole heaven of chorus girls and the backer of an army of touts in an effort to make their fortunes at the race-track.

"All that was necessary for the 'Big Three' to deny justice to the complaining policy-holder, under this law as it was interpreted for many years, was to own the Attorney-General. It is not of record that the Attorney-General ever gave active sympathy to policy-holders who knew they were being robbed, and the

insurance grafters were well warranted in their belief that Section 56 would save them from the annoyance of giving an account of their stewardship to the courts. Section 56 was the stronghold behind which the McCurdys, McCalls and Hydes laughed the disarmed policy-holder's attacks to scorn.

"The admirable reasoning of Justice Kellogg, however, shows that the insurance lobby left a great breach in this wall."

This decision is of widespread importance. It is in effect a Declaration of Independence in behalf of every policy-holder in a New York insurance company wherever the policy-holder may reside.

When it is considered that in every hamlet, village and town of almost every state in the United States of America there are men who are depriving themselves of the necessities of life, in many cases, to pay their premiums into the treasuries of these great insurance companies, it will be seen that this decision strikes the supposed shackles from their hands and permits them, by suits in their own states and localities, to compel restitution where wrong has been done. This decision in effect holds that the commission of actual wrongs by some of the directors or officers warrants the bringing of a suit by any policy-holder, not only against such offenders, but against the entire body of directors, who are charged with responsibility for the damage directly occasioned by the active misdeeds of a few, on the ground that the same were by them negligently permitted and suffered to be done. Justice Kellogg says:

"All the directors of a corporation owe to it a duty of care, attention and watchfulness. If damage result from their lack of care and attention to duty and to the affairs of the corporation, with the management of which they are entrusted, they are liable. That liability does not accrue merely because they have performed some act and performed it carelessly, but rather because of a total failure to act at all. Inaction of those owing a duty of activity is in itself a ground of liability."

The court holds, indeed says, it is "entirely clear that in any mutual company the whole body of policy-holders at any given time, whose policies are not yet matured, have a *quasi* ownership in all the assets of the corporation and are, like stockholders of an ordinary corporation, in fact, its *cestui qui trust*."

The court further holds that the trustees and directors of any insurance company are



merely the agents of the policy-holders to see that the funds are honestly administered and that the policy-holder has a right to inquire through the courts and call the trustees to account. The effect of this decision, as we have already said, is more than far-reaching. Any trustee or director may be served in any state by any policy-holder resident therein and must be obliged to account to the policy-holders for wrong-doing.

This will tend to prevent the continuance of the present graft régime in insurance circles. When it becomes apparent first to the grafters that their grafting will render them personally liable, perhaps to imprisonment; and, what is more important, when it becomes apparent to the non-grafting members, the honorary members of the board, that they are responsible for the sins of the others, then they will take alarm, and so-called "house-cleaning committees" will be unnecessary, because all of the trustees will be constantly on guard to see that their neighbors commit no crime for which the rest may be hanged.

#### Privilege Unchecked Will Sound The Doom of The Republic.

DEMOCRACY CAN NO MORE exist without the compulsion of moral idealism than the plant-world can live without the light and warmth of the sun. Moral principles—the great, eternal ethical verities—must constitute the soul of any republic destined to live, grow and bless mankind. Privilege is inimical to democracy. Its influence is death-dealing. It is the child of sordid selfishness, the product at once of corruption and oppression. It matters not whether it dons the ermine and lifts aloft the scepter under the false claim of divine right; whether it arrogates to itself superior rights and the power to oppress the weak and defenceless, on the claim of birth and the possession of lands that in the nature of the case justly belong to the common children of the common Parent; or whether it appears as a commercial class that through monopoly rights and systematic corruption of the people's servants and the control of public opinion-forming influences is able to arrogate the power to oppress while steadily advancing in influence through the wealth that rightfully belongs to the millions. Always and at all times privilege is at once inimical to the florescence of justice, to the proper development of all the people and to the freedom and growth of man, and is thus contrary to the spirit of true religion or the ethics of the

Golden Rule and to the life of democracy.

We have to-day reached a stage in the history of our government where a solemn duty confronts every man who loves the Republic, who cherishes true religion and who is a friend of humanity,—a duty that no man can evade and be quit of guilt. As in the olden days a great moral leader of Israel called to the people to choose between God and Mammon, between the true and the false, so the Republic to-day calls on all her children to become the servants of light, the soldiers of the democratic renaissance; she calls upon each one to battle against privilege and for civic righteousness.

#### Some Notable Recent Cartoons.

RECENTLY there have appeared a number of exceptionally strong cartoons by New York caricaturists illustrating things that are uppermost in the minds of the citizens of the Empire City and which also concern Americans generally. The amazing indifference to the public interest on the part of District-Attorney Jerome, both in regard to the insurance criminals and in the presence of the great merger outrage, has called forth cartoons that well voice the indignation of the people at the recreancy of the district-attorney who made such loud pledges and professions when he clamored for the people's franchise. "District-Attorney Jerome has slumbered peacefully," as Mr. Bullock points out in this issue of *THE ARENA*, "through twelve months of the worst revelations of corporate corruption that this country has ever seen." Moreover, recently the district-attorney has declared emphatically according to one of the leading New York newspapers, that, "You can't blow me off my perch," in referring to the insistent clamor of the press and public that he should act against the insurance thieves. This suggests Tweed's famous declaration when Nast was exposing his corruption: "What are you going to do about it?"

Up to the present writing many of the great dailies of New York have been vainly calling upon the district-attorney to make good his solemn ante-election pledges, to bring the great insurance grafters to justice and to honestly guard the interests of the city. Three cartoons bearing on this amazing inaction are worthy of special notice. One is by Robert Carter in the *New York American*; the other two are by Bush in the *New York World*.

Mr. Carter's drawing is entitled "The Watchers" and portrays the sleeping sentinel

and the rape of a great city. It represents a huge owl with the face of Ryan standing on a dome. In his talons is Father Knickerbocker as representative of the city of New York. The great bird of prey has its cruel claws in the victim's legs, while his head is hanging under the dome. Under the sheltering wings of the evil bird stands Belmont, the man who with Ryan is seeking to consummate a scheme for plunder so colossal and almost incredible in character that it would have staggered Boss Tweed in the palmiest days of his reign of graft and thievery. In the background District-Attorney Jerome, the man elected to guard the citizens' interests, is soundly sleeping in comfort, while the municipality is being despoiled — sleeping when public indignation is expressing itself in impotent rage at the shameful inactivity of the responsible officers. "The Watchers" is a cartoon that would make the reputation of Mr. Carter if he had drawn nothing else.



Bush, in New York World.

"ALLEE SAMEE."



Oppen, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

#### MONOPOLY LODGE GIVES A DRAMATIC SHOW.

The First Number on the Programme is That Sterling Melodrama, "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde; or, More to Be Pitied Than Scorned."

The two cartoons by Bush on Mr. Jerome are apt and telling. The first is entitled "A Valentine." It represents the district-attorney as Cupid, asleep with an arm resting on the penal code. Behind him is a heart on which is the famous "yellow dog" with a can tied to his tail. The can bears the legend, "\$1,500,000 for Andy," the reference of course being to the corruption funds of the insurance companies. Over the head of the sleeping Cupid are the words:

"If you love me as I love you,  
No law can cut our love in two."

"When the Sleeper Wakes" represents the sleeping district-attorney snowed under by evidences of crime and wrong-doing. On the one hand Father Knickerbocker is calling loudly to him, as well he may, with the city in deadly peril from the merger bandits. On the other hand the gong of the Armstrong insurance report is being loudly beaten, but to little purpose beyond making the sleeper yawn.

Another most admirable recent cartoon by Mr. Bush is entitled "Allee Samee!" It rep-

resents the members of the Chinese Commission on their tour of inspection. They have come across Father Knickerbocker pinioned to a dead wall. His legs are bound by the merger. One arm is tied by high finance and the other by politics. The shrewd commissioners, after a careful examination, find that all the bonds that hold the captive are the same—a sage conclusion. The high financiers' debauchery of the people's servants is the chief source of graft and corruption and the robbery and oppression of all the people. Who imagines for a moment that without the influence exerted by the Ryans, the Belmonts and their confederates over the people's misrepresentatives, that such an outrage as the merger would be possible? Happily the people are rapidly coming to see and understand that the supreme peril of the nation is found in the high financiers operating through political bosses and party-machines for the absolute mastery of government in city, state and nation. The tidal wave in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania last year was only one of many evidences of a nation-wide awakening of the conscience-element of society, regardless of party—an awakening which we believe will develop into an irresistible popular wave which all the wealth of the criminal rich will be powerless to prevent.

In regard to the insurance scandal a number of excellent cartoons have recently appeared. Robert Carter in the *New York American* complemented his remarkable drawing entitled "The Watchers" with another entitled "Will It Keep Them Off?" representing Ryan as the great owl and Rockefeller as a vulture, seated on a limb gazing intently at the Armstrong Report scarecrow placed in the financial field.

Another excellent drawing appeared in the *World* by C. R. Macauley, entitled "The Wreckers" and referring to the attempt of President Peabody, Harriman and the Standard Oil group to depose Mr. Fish from the Illinois Central Railroad because of his stand for common honesty and the carrying out of his pledge as an investigator of the Mutual Life Insurance corrupt practices.

Mr. Opper has been contributing to the Hearst papers a series of pictures representing Monopoly Lodge and its master-spirits engaged in various pursuits and pastimes. We reproduce one of these cartoons in which Monopoly Lodge is pictured as giving a dramatic show.

### Mr. Amory's Indictment of District-Attorney Jerome.

MANY of our readers will remember that during the heat of the municipal campaign last autumn in New York City, Mr. Clarence Shearn, the candidate of the Municipal-Ownership party, boldly charged Mr. Jerome with evading his duty in prosecuting the great criminals. He showed that he had exhibited a most laudable spirit in vigorously prosecuting the little criminals and offenders—those who had no great wealth and large political influence behind them. Against such he was relentless. Against the great thieves, however vigorously he might be in protestations and promises of what he intended to do, his activity invariably ended with his denunciations of the offenders and his promises to act. Mr. Shearn further showed that a number of the attorneys for the trusts and the great insurance grafters, as well as many persons connected with the great insurance scandals, had come out publicly in favor of the election of Mr. Jerome. On the other hand, however, the district-attorney boldly promised that the great offenders should suffer no less than the weaker criminals, if the people would once again entrust him with the power to execute the law. As a result he was given the power, and since then, as the *New York World* has pointed out on numerous occasions, he has done precisely what Mr. Shearn declared he would do—avoided any aggressive action against the wealthy and the influential law-breakers.

It was shown in the Armstrong investigation that perjury, forgery and various other crimes had been committed by men high up in influence. The evidence came out under oath and is unmistakable in character; yet week after week and month after month passes and the district-attorney remains silent. Even the stinging editorials of the incorruptible newspapers of New York and the apt and telling cartoons alike fail to spur him to action.

On the 15th of February the *Boston Herald* published an Albany dispatch in which William M. Amory, formerly treasurer of the Third Avenue Railway Company of New York made the following bold and circumstantial indictment against Mr. Jerome:

"If Mr. Jerome were honest enough to fulfil his campaign pledges of 1901 and 'follow the trails of wrong-doing and corruption into the office of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company' (I quote his own words), if he possessed

the courage to 'arraign against himself the most dangerous, the most vindictive and the most powerful influences at work in the community,' (and again I quote his own words), the necessity for an investigation by the legislature of the acts of this band of heartless criminals would not exist to-day.

"I declare that Jerome is fully advised of the guilt of the Metropolitan managers. I declare that he has in his possession legal evidence sufficient to convict them of grave crimes. I declare that he told James W. Osborne and I that he was satisfied as to their guilt and that the evidence was sufficient to convict. I declare that his chief assistant also admitted as much to Eugene A. Philbin and myself. I declare that Jerome subsequently entered into a conspiracy to allow these criminals to escape. I declare that in furtherance of this end he suppressed facts, and deliberately issued an official statement which is proved by the records to have been wilfully false.

"If the Metropolitan managers saw fit to offer me \$200,000 in 1903 to withdraw the charges I had filed with the district-attorney, which they did, what would be their inducements to Jerome to suppress those charges and whitewash them, which he did?

"If the grievance committee of the bar association should subsequently convict a Metropolitan attorney for the attempted bribery, which it did, where shall we search for Jerome's motive in his neglect to prosecute the guilty under section 113 of the penal code?

"These are some of the problems which an investigation of the merger will solve."

It seems incredible that any man, much less a prosecuting attorney would have let pass such a damning indictment, made with such pitiless directness, without instantly instituting suit for criminal libel. How, indeed, can any innocent man remain passive when a prominent and reputable citizen makes the gravest charges that can be framed against a public official? Yet instead of demanding a prompt retraction or a vindication in court, Mr. Jerome on the 15th of February met the above indictment by Mr. Amory with the following statement:

"I have known Mr. Amory for a good many years, and while there were some facts that in the minds of many have thrown doubt upon the integrity of his motives, I always believed that the primary motive which has controlled his conduct has been other than a selfish one.

"He has for a number of years had his mind exclusively concentrated upon street traction matters in the city of New York, and whatever charges or allegations he has made in regard to me, I believe that he is sincerely convinced of their truth, and that they are not made from any motive of personal hostility or for any political reason.

"The proposition with which he is dealing seems to him so plain that he cannot understand how anybody can differ from him except from sinister motives."

## VARIOUS PHASES OF THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT IN OTHER COMMONWEALTHS.

### **The Slaughter of The Innocents by Commercialism's Juggernaut in Pennsylvania.**

ONE OF the most damning indictments that can be justly brought against the modern commercial feudalism that so largely dominates our government to-day, is the deadening influence it exerts over the finer sensibilities or ethical idealism of the people. Precisely in proportion as the commercial spirit gains ascendancy we see moral and spiritual anæsthesia, like creeping paralysis, advance over church, school and press. As the materialism of the market throws its spell over the public imagination, the fatal spectacle of the

exaltation of property rights and interests over human rights and requirements becomes more and more potent and compelling in its baleful influence. The infamy of child-labor in this opulent republic and the moral obloquy of its apologists are but two manifestations of the presence of the genius of spiritual death in our midst, which if not speedily overcome by an awakened public conscience will stifle that idealism which is the oxygen of free government and national life.

The reckless disregard for human life as manifested by the money-mad heads of corporate wealth to-day should call in trumpet tones to every man and woman to whom re-



ligion is anything more than an empty word or in whose brain justice and human love hold sway. Look, for example, at the wanton slaughter of life in a great mining and manufacturing center like western Pennsylvania. The editor of a leading New York magazine informed us recently that up to a few years ago in certain of the great steel mills the management was not accustomed to permit the stopping of the machinery in any department, when an accident occurred, long enough to remove the mangled fragments of the victim caught in the machinery; and as a special concession at length the workers secured a provision in the contracts requiring the management of any department in which an accident occurred to allow the machinery to stop long enough to remove the injured or slain victim.

From a recent article in the *Kansas City Star* it would seem, however, that this concession was by no means lived up to by the corporations. The Pittsburgh correspondent of this well-known journal, after a vivid and realistic description of the wholesale slaughter of human beings in the great steel-mills of the Steel-Trust, recites the following specific example illustrating the methods pursued by the multi-millionaires who so own Congress that they are able to maintain a tariff on steel which permits them to charge Americans from six to eleven dollars a ton more than they ask for the same steel laid down in London.

"Within the past couple of months," says this journal, "a foreigner was sent aloft to do some work about the roof-trusses of a crane-shed in a Pittsburgh mill. He lost his hold and fell in such a way that he became jammed in a doubled-up position, with one leg over the track on which runs the big crane. His position was such a peculiar one that there was no way to release the victim except to take the crane apart or crush his leg. When it became evident there was no other way to get him out the foreman ordered the laborers out of the way. To take the crane out of the way meant several hours' work and the stoppage of the plant. The foreman gave a signal to the crane-man, the big crane rolled forward and there was a scream of agony as the wheels rolled over the foreigner's leg. He was taken out minus one limb but the mill had saved several hundred dollars. There was no damage suit, for witnesses cannot be obtained, as the workers know too well the power of the blacklist. That is how much regard is paid

to one of the despised 'foreigners' in the Pittsburgh mill-district. Only a couple of weeks ago a crane-man deliberately ran down and killed a foreigner. It was denounced as murder, but no action was taken for he was only a 'Hunkie,' and he had no friends this side of the Atlantic."

According to the New York editor to whom we have referred above, the loss of life in the Pittsburgh mills and foundries was simply appalling. "But," he said, "the officials are so completely under the control of the great interests that the facts are kept from the public." The truth of this statement has recently been confirmed by some startling revelations made by the *Washington Post*. This journal calls the attention of the public to the wholesale slaughter of the workers in and around Pittsburgh that is going on at the present in order that the princes of privilege, the Steel-Trust magnates, the iron-masters, the coal barons and the railway chiefs—the Schwabs, the Coreys and their companions—may heap up millions upon millions of gold and be able to further control government and enslave and exploit the people. In the course of the *Washington Post's* discussion of this subject it makes the following startling statements:

"Statistics of Allegheny county, Pennsylvania, for the past year show that there were killed and injured in the iron and steel mills and blast furnaces 9,000. In other mills, shops and factories, 4,000 were sacrificed, while the coal mines swell this figure by 400, and the railroad victims include an additional 4,300, making up a grand total of 17,700 who were slaughtered or injured in one year. . . . Of all the injuries and deaths in the county last year, only ninety-two cases came under the notice of the state factory inspector."

Mr. Schwab is building a six-million-dollar palace at the present time. How many of the slaughtered workmen and how many of those maimed for life would to-day be caring for their loved ones, now helpless widows and orphans, if a little less gold had flowed into the treasury of Charles Schwab and if Corey and his companions had had less money to lavish on actresses?

We hear much about the sacredness of property from the agents of privileged interests who are corrupting the municipal, state and national governments and packing our educational institutions with the advocates and special-pleaders of privilege. Men of Amer-

ica—you who glory in being descendants of the heroes of the Revolution—has the hour not arrived when you should take a bold stand on the side of those who represent the principles of the builders of this Republic and insist on the sacredness of human life and the rights of man? Has not the hour struck for you to enlist against the feudalism of wealth that for gold and the power of gold is destroying the soul of the church, the life of the nation and the moral rectitude that more than aught else lifts man above the brute and makes life worth the while?

### **The Victory of The People Over The Machine in Pittsburgh.**

THAT the tidal-wave of enlightened public sentiment which swept over Philadelphia and Pennsylvania last year was no mere sporadic or temporary protest but the beginning of a revolution waged by the conscience-element of all parties, found fresh confirmation on the twentieth of February when, after the most desperately fought municipal campaign ever known in western Pennsylvania, the ring or machine-candidate for mayor was defeated by a majority of over eight thousand votes. The successful candidate was George W. Guthrie, a Democrat and the first Democrat to be elected since 1893, when the Republicans lost owing to a split in their party.

Pittsburgh has been boss-ridden and ring-ruled, and the present conflict was a fight of decent citizens, regardless of party, against the machine and its corrupt practices. The Republican candidate was A. H. Jenkinson, the son of a multi-millionaire cigar and tobacco manufacturer. He was strongly supported by H. C. Frick, the steel-trust magnate, and by the Pennsylvania Railroad. But despite the fact that the city was in the hands of the machine organization and that the Republican candidate had unlimited capital behind him and all the interests working with the bosses for his success, the aroused friends of clean government were triumphant over the party of Quay and Penrose, of Pennypacker and Durham.

This victory is merely another battle won by an awakened people over the might and wealth of corrupt bosses and money-controlled machines backed by the privileged interests. It is another straw showing the current of the wind. The people are everywhere becoming aroused as they have not been aroused in fifty years. They have waited long and patiently

for the promised relief from their mis-representatives, only to find that they have been systematically betrayed and plundered, while corrupt and conscienceless corporate wealth and interests dependent upon special privilege have uninterruptedly marched from vantage-ground to vantage-ground.

Many forces have been working to enlighten the people, not the least of which has been the brazen arrogance of self-confident corporation magnates—the merciless rapacity of criminal wealth. This, together with the numerous exposures and the systematic educational agitation which has been quietly going forward for many years, is at last bearing fruit. Unless all signs fail we are in the opening years of one of the greatest political and civic revolutions known to our nation. All signs would seem to indicate that the day of the people is dawning.

### **A Railroad Object-Lesson From Michigan.**

THAT the railroads have been the chief cause of political corruption and graft and the systematic betrayal of the people's interests on the part of national and state legislatures, is a fact that we think has been borne home with convincing force upon all unprejudiced minds who have seriously studied our national and state governments during the past thirty years. Another thing that is of great importance for the voters everywhere to realize is the fact that it is through the aid of the railways that many of the most oppressive trusts have been able to crush competition and saddle millions of dollars of burdens on the wealth-consumers and producers of America in extortionate charges for life's necessities; while there is a third count in the indictment against the privately owned railways that is still less frequently brought forward which should not be overlooked, and that is the systematic shifting of a great part of the burden of taxation, which by right belongs to the railways, onto the people, through the corrupt connivance of politicians and political machines which are owned, controlled or influenced by the railway corporations.

Perhaps this crime against honest industry by corrupt corporate wealth has never been more searchingly exposed than in Wisconsin during Senator LaFollette's long and valiant fight for the people against the railway domination and oppression. Ohio has furnished another striking example of this form of corrupt practice in which political bosses and

their tools take their orders from the railways and betray the people; while the latest example comes from Michigan, for the facts of which we are indebted to Mr. Ward Macauley of Detroit. In writing of this latest exhibition of the union of the railways and the politicians to add to the burdens of the tax-payers, our correspondent says:

"That the railroads have a strangle-hold on the populace of Michigan is pretty clearly evinced by the recent finding of the tax commission, acting under the machine-manufactured 'equalization' law. The commission decided that general property was assessed altogether too low, so it sent forth an edict that the railroads shall pay *fourteen dollars per thousand of valuation*, while the rate on all other property *shall be seventeen dollars*.

"The net result of this is that the railroads pay *over three hundred thousand dollars less in Michigan this year than last, and last year's amount was considerably less than that paid the year before*; while expenses, as always under machine-rule, are soaring skyward.

"The Republican machine-governor blames the tax commission (appointed by himself). The tax commission blames the 'equalization' law, which was a pet measure of the governor's. So the merry show goes on, while the Michigan farmer bows under the added load thus iniquitously imposed upon him, while he calls to mind the fact that he voted his party-ticket straight; and it is probable that the recreant politicians are hugely amused at his present loud protest, for they know that when it comes to voting the African savage has no more superstitious a reverence for his fetich, or a Russian peasant for his ikon, than has our rural friend for the Republican vignette.

"Taxation and primary reform will be the issue in the 1906 campaign, and it will be worth while to observe whether Michigan is, indeed, dead or only sleepeth, awaiting the resurrection call."

We believe that Mr. Macauley will be happily surprised at the next general election. The people have been educated the past year as they have not been educated in a decade by clear and incontrovertible evidence of the wholesale corruption practiced by those whom they had long regarded as the embodiments of honesty and patriotism, and they have seen how the dominant party in city, state and nation has drawn rivers of gold from the enemies of the people and the oppressors of the wealth-creating and consuming public in order to

preserve the present corrupt order in which the politicians are systematically betraying the public at the command of privileged interests, which in turn are being enormously enriched through the grossest injustice and oppression. They have seen that the Depews and the Platts, the Aldriches and the Spooners, the Elkinse and the Keans, the Drydens and the Penroses, no less than the Durhams and the Braytons, the Odells and the Coxes, all alike take their orders from and religiously serve the public-service corporations, the trusts and other privileged interests that are robbing the millions and corrupting government in all its ramifications. And seeing all this, the people are in revolt as they have not been in years. We believe that unless all signs fail the hour of political reformation and a renaissance of genuine Jeffersonian democracy and Lincoln republicanism is at hand.

#### Rhode Island's Shame.

IT IS difficult to conceive of a much more degrading spectacle than that presented by Philadelphia before Rudolph Blankenburg's series of trenchant papers in *THE ARENA*, exposing the corruption and degradation of the Quaker City under the absolute rule of Boss Durham, so crystallized the long-dormant public sentiment that when the colossal gas-steal was attempted so formidable a revolt occurred as to nerve Mayor Weaver to stand for civic honesty. Yet there are spectacles still more degrading and humiliating to all lovers of public morality and free government,—such, for example, as was long witnessed when Boss Quay, backed by the Pennsylvania Railroad and other public-service corporations and the steel and coal monopolies, kept the state year in and year out grovelling in dishonor, the prey at once of corrupt machine-made rulers and of the insatiable avarice of corporate greed. Such a spectacle has been witnessed in Colorado in recent years, as the powerful exposures now running in *THE ARENA* from the able pen of the Hon. J. Warner Mills amply attest.

And such a spectacle is to-day seen in Rhode Island, where the state government is as abject a tool of the boss, Charles R. Brayton, as if this boss were an oriental despot. Politically he is such an autocrat. Those who dare to cross him, think for themselves or act for the public weal, court political destruction. This local boss, with the baleful shadow of Senator Aldrich always in the rear, just as that of Quay

was always behind Durham, controls the political machine as absolutely as did Tweed control the government of New York City before the great public uprising which exposed the infamy of the robbers and resulted in the overthrow of the criminals.

Given a daring and reckless boss, backed by public-service corporations and privileged interests and a carefully organized machine manned by unscrupulous politicians, and the people have little to say, either about the selection or election of officials, while their wishes after the lawmakers meet are unheeded by the boss-created and corporation-governed popular mis-representatives. To whom do these legislators owe their place? The boss. From whom shall they take orders? The boss. Whatever such government is, it is not republican in spirit, essence or fact, and under such mis-rule it is not surprising that rapid moral deterioration takes place and high ideals of statesmanship or civic duty are conspicuous by their absence.

Recently the Rhode Island legislature gave a striking illustration of the servility of recreant lawmakers to the boss and of their contempt not only for the people, but also for common decency in legislative forms. A bill had been introduced by Senator McKenna proposing an amendment to the constitution granting to the people of the state the right to propose constitutional amendments on the petition of five thousand voters. The Committee on Special Legislation, which had the bill in charge, promised the senator it should be given a hearing on the thirteenth of February; but it appears that the boss did not propose to permit a hearing on a measure that would give the people any real power in government. Such an amendment would imperil his arbitrary and autocratic rule and give the electorate an opportunity to right wrongs, check wholesale robbery and break the fatal power of the corrupt boss, thereby enabling the people to enjoy some of the blessings of free government. Hence the proposed measure was not even to be entertained by the lawmakers, so in spite of its promise, the committee reported the bill back without a hearing and recommended indefinite postponement; and the legislators, after the manner of servile slaves habituated to crawl before the boss in order to prolong their political lives, acted on the committee's recommendation. In protesting against the outrage of denying a hearing to the measure Senator McKenna said:

"The reason why this action was taken, was, because the Republican Boss of this state has stepped in and ordered it done. He wants to dispose of it without having any public discussion of it, and why? Because, if put in operation it would depose that Boss and give to the people their right to advise and participate in the enactment of legislation."

*The State*, of Providence, Rhode Island, in noticing the amazing position now taken by the bosses and their tools in regard to the sovereign people, said:

"Senator Morgan made a speech in opposition to the resolution. The sum and substance of his speech, as of all others against this just measure, is that the people cannot be trusted. The voters are good enough to nominate and elect him, but not good enough to vote yes or no upon a specific amendment."

This journal further, in referring to Rhode Island's bondage to Boss Brayton, observed:

"With more openness than ever before, legislation is being controlled from the desk of the Boss, and the hangers-on are more in evidence and more deferential. He says 'unto one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh'; and, to his servants the members of the General Assembly, 'Do this,' and they do it. The running to and fro to make haste to carry out his orders, are evident on all sides, and the proceedings before both bodies make the matter still more notorious.

"No one conversant with the facts at the State House needs to be told in this present year of grace that General Charles Ray Brayton is managing legislation openly and unashamed at his old stand in the sheriff's office. He is the real governor of the state. It is 'He Who Must Be Obeyed,' and if any one is presumptuous enough to defy his authority or run counter to his mandates, the same fate of annihilation will follow the offense as did in the case of disobedience to Rider Haggard's heroine 'She' when any of her people ventured to dispute her will."

Here we have a concrete example of the pass to which supposed free states are brought in cases where privileged interests and party-bosses gain control of political machinery and become firmly entrenched. Here we see the substitution for republican government of an irresponsible despotism, usually backed and



rendered powerful by sordid and corrupt privileged interests seeking the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many.

It is through this new despotism, foreign alike to the genius of republicanism and of pure government, that corruption and political degradation have gained a firm foothold and have rapidly spread throughout present-day public life; while parallel with this phenomenon, which cannot be other than alarming to all far-seeing statesmen who are students of history, we find the systematic oppression and exploitation of the people by the public-service corporations, the trusts and the monopolies.

Only through guarded representative government or majority-rule, secured through the Initiative and Referendum, can the people restore republican government and enjoy the fruits of free institutions.

#### **Mr. Cortelyou's Grievance.**

MR. CORTELYOU, on the occasion of his address before the Lincoln Republican Club of Grand Rapids, Michigan, made a virulent attack upon those newspapers whose persistent exposures of corruption in high places forced Governor Higgins, against his wish and will, and the Republican machine of New York, to permit the insurance investigation, and almost forced the new Republican machine to investigate the banking department and the insurance department of New York, which at the present time are as malodorous as were the great insurance companies prior to the investigation of those companies. The new Root-Ryan-Higgins-Wardell machine of New York has up to the present writing successfully fought any investigation that would reveal the corruption of these great departments. We have been seriously told that such an investigation at the present time would be a public calamity. It doubtless would be a calamity for dishonest officials and might easily lead to the exposure of conditions that would destroy the sinister power of the Root-Ryan-Higgins-Wardell combination; but the effect, in so far as good government and clean politics are concerned, could not be other than salutary.

There is nothing that professional politicians and the great public-service corporations and princes of privilege so fear as the unpurchasable public press—the papers that cannot be browbeaten or their silence bought, and Mr. Cortelyou is evidently of the number of those

who "view with alarm" papers "whose teachings he characterizes as 'a curse and whose influence is blighting on the land, pandering to unholy passions, making the commonplace to appear sensational, fanning the fires of sectionalism and class hatred.'"

Indeed, the address of Mr. Cortelyou reminds us most forcibly of the pious moralizings of John A. McCall, Chauncey Depew and a number of other grafters connected with the insurance companies in 1896, when they prated about "national honor," "business morality," and the "menace of Bryanism." People then innocently imagined that the menace thus referred to was a menace against the business integrity of the nation, instead of being a well-grounded fear on their part that the high civic morality of Bryan would lead to the unmasking of the great sinks of business corruption and national and business graft and dishonesty.

Mr. Cortelyou's alarm-cry only serves to illustrate anew the fact that the evil-doers and reactionaries fear and dread the incorruptible and fearless newspaper. Happily the day is past when the "unctious rectitude" of those who would cloak their discreditable deeds under an assumption of superior morality will carry any special weight. The people have at last discovered the subterfuge. The real secret of Mr. Cortelyou's alarm is thus unfeelingly laid bare by the *New York World* in an editorial which must have added salt to the chairman-secretary's wounds:

"Mr. Cortelyou," observes the *World*, "has a grievance. The press of the country, and again the *World* in particular, 'presented one of the most important of present-day problems' when in the 1904 campaign it pressed the charge that corporation money was being used for political purposes. Mr. Cortelyou as Chairman of the Republican National Committee permitted Mr. Roosevelt to make his ill-advised denial. What was the sequel? The Armstrong investigation showed Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Bliss to have been in the receipt of large sums filched from sacred trust funds.

"If to say that such use of insurance money was robbery; that Mr. Cortelyou should have been called to testify; that the men who paid the money should be punished and those who received it forced to disgorge; that both parties, for both are guilty, should be prohibited from receiving corporation corruption funds—if to say all this and to reiterate it with utmost emphasis be 'sensationalism,' then the

World must plead guilty of that offense, and so must the eminent men who have banded to secure corrupt-practices legislation in the state and the country.

"The first thought of a public official con-

victed of inefficiency or misconduct is to complain of the sensationalism of the press. But we have progressed. The first thought of a despot has always been to prohibit free criticism altogether."

## MAYOR JOHNSON AND THE CLEVELAND CLERGY.

### Three Views on The Significance of The Crusade.

**F**OLLOWING the admirable reply of Mayor Johnson to certain clerical critics in Cleveland, the ministers, instead of acting on the invitation of the mayor to unite with him in a systematic effort to secure an abatement of the shameful injustice suffered by the poor and the citizens in general, due to special privileges which were enormously enriching the few at the expense of the city and the citizens; instead of welcoming his earnest proposition to work for conditions that would radically make for free government and true morality by securing justice and fostering equality of opportunities and of rights, did precisely what the corporation chiefs would have desired them to do. The Ministers' Association opened a crusade against the mayor marked by extreme intemperance of language and bitterness of spirit.

In order to place before our readers the true condition in Cleveland in regard to the morality of the city to-day in comparison with conditions in former days, we addressed a series of questions to the Rev. Harris R. Cooley, Director of the Department of Public Service of Cleveland, Hon. Frederic C. Howe, and Professor Edward W. Bemis. Mr. Cooley was the well-known and universally respected Disciple minister whom Mayor Johnson called from the West—from Minneapolis, if we remember aright—to assist in the department of justice and charity—of Public Service. His labors have been so practically effective as to command the general admiration of high-minded citizens of all faiths and political beliefs. More than this: Mr. Cooley was for more than a score of years pastor of a church in Cleveland, so he is thoroughly qualified to speak from knowledge, while his high character entitles his views to special consideration. In a personal letter to us Mr. Cooley says:

"As I was for twenty-one years pastor of one of our Cleveland churches, I may be in-

clined to excuse the ministers. For five years I have seen constantly the wrongs of the unprivileged."

### Rev. Harris R. Cooley's Reply.

In answer to our request for his opinion as to whether the conditions in Cleveland as they relate to gambling, disorderly houses, the liquor traffic and the social evil in general are better or worse to-day than they were when Mayor Johnson first took office, Mr. Cooley gives it as his mature judgment, based on intimate personal knowledge, that conditions have steadily "been growing better under the administration of Mayor Johnson." "This improvement," he insists, "has been continuous." Below we give our questions and Mr. Cooley's replies in full:

"Q. 'So far as you know or are able to judge from the opinions of persons in whom you place confidence, has any previous mayor of Cleveland succeeded in abating vice and crime to a greater degree than has Mayor Johnson?'

"A. 'I think no mayor has used methods which have been so effective.'

"Q. 'Was there ever a time in the history of Cleveland during previous administrations when there was a concerted effort on the part of the clergymen of so pronounced a character as the present to discredit the mayor of the city on account of alleged inactivity in the presence of vice?'

"A. 'There have been similar crusades against vice and crime on the part of the ministers. They are periodical. This crusade is characterized by more abusive and violent language than usual.'

"Q. 'Is it probable, in your opinion, if Mayor Johnson had not aroused the antagonism of the great public-service companies that are plundering the people, that the ministers would be used as a cat's-paw, as they are being used in Cleveland, to create a public prejudice against the mayor?'

"A. 'I do not think that the ministers are, as a class, consciously influenced to take the side of the privileged as against the unprivileged. Most of them see so little of the wrongs and struggles of the unprivileged that they do not realize the cruel injustice done them. Under the circumstances, it is not strange that some of them should be the unconscious tools of privilege. In any movement, the violent thrust themselves forward, but their action does not necessarily represent the feeling of all of the ministers. I feel confident that this is the case in Cleveland.'

"Q. 'Is it not true, whenever a great fundamental leader arises who pleads for justice for the people so effectively that he imperils the financial gain to privileged classes and is awaking the public to the enormity of the evil of the new feudalism of wealth, that privileged interests operate in so far as they can, through church, school and press, to create a general prejudice against the man, or the men, whom they have just reason to fear?'

"A. 'The special privileges will not pass away without a hard struggle. The beneficiaries of these privileges come to feel that they hold a sacred trust. By all possible means they will try to fortify themselves in their positions. They will not hesitate to question the purpose or malign the character of the man who dares to interfere with their "vested rights."'

"Q. 'Is not the crusade against Mayor Johnson clearly a case of this character?'

"A. 'There is, undoubtedly, an effort to draw Mayor Johnson's attention from the fundamental things to the more superficial ones. The special privileges are making a bitter personal fight against Mayor Johnson, and will in all possible ways support and encourage such a crusade.

"'Personally, I feel that on the part of most ministers, it is not a lack of heart, but a lack of contact with, and knowledge of, our present social and industrial conditions. The church has not emphasized sufficiently the social feeling and the social conscience. When one man ruins a girl, we are properly sensitive to the wrong, but when our social and industrial conditions drive a thousand girls to lives of shame, somehow there is no sensitiveness to the cruelty and wickedness of our corporate or social wrongs. In our highly organized civilization, our social and industrial sins are the more vicious in their effect. In many ways we are "tithing the mint and the anise and cummin, and omitting the weightier mat-

ters of the law—justice, righteousness and mercy." We are dealing with effects rather than with causes. We are covering vice rather than curing it.

"'The slums of our great cities are the breeding-places of drunkenness, vice and crime. Abnormal conditions will develop abnormal appetites. Drink and drug habits or something worse must prevail. Out of this mass of struggling misery and wretchedness in the congested quarters, disease, drunkenness, vice and crime reach out into other portions of the city. These abnormal conditions cannot be overcome by arresting a few victims and sending them to jail. The disease, vice and crime of the slums cannot be suppressed with a "lid." The malignant cancer, with its nauseating odor, can be covered over with a court-plaster. To the esthetic taste, it may be less offensive, but the court-plaster method cannot cure. Crime may be but the manifestation in individuals of a social disease, and those who are punished are simply victims and not wilful transgressors."

Director Cooley's replies, it will be observed, are marked by the same broad, fine spirit that is so conspicuous a characteristic of Mayor Johnson in all his political, business and social relations. Mr. Johnson is among the most intrepid and steadfast statesmen of our day in advocating and defending principles he believes to be fundamental to justice and free government. But it is against injustice, corruption and reactionary ideals—against the wrong system and evil principles, and not against men, that he wars. He recognizes that all men are largely the creatures of environment, and in many if not most instances, if they could be brought face to face with the fundamental principles that relate to justice, freedom, morality and human advancement, they would be quick to range themselves on the side of the right.

#### Hon. Frederic C. Howe on Conditions in Cleveland.

Mr. Howe, as many of our readers know, is state senator from Cleveland and author of one of the most admirable economic books of recent years, *The City the Hope of Democracy*, recently published by Scribners. He is probably the strongest leader on the Democratic side of the senate at the present time. His views are summed up as follows:

"Social conditions in Cleveland are far better than when Mayor Johnson took his

office. Gambling, wine-rooms and combination joints have been put out of business. The improvement has been steady and continuous since the mayor's first election. No previous mayor of Cleveland, in my judgment, has done nearly so much as the present chief executive to abate vice and crime.

"The present aggressive opposition to the mayor in Cleveland on the part of the ministers is confined to a small, intolerant minority. I think the real explanation of the opposition is what you suggest,—Mayor Johnson aroused the antagonisms of the public-service corporations that are plundering the people. I think you give a perfect analysis of the situation in Cleveland in your question, when you ask: 'Is it not true, whenever a great fundamental leader arises who pleads for justice for the people so effectively that he imperils the financial gain to privileged classes and is awaking the public to the enormity of the evil of the new feudalism of wealth, that privileged interests operate in so far as they can, through church, school and press, to create a general prejudice against the man, or the men, whom they have just reason to fear?' And I fully agree with you that the present crusade against Mayor Johnson is a case of this character."

#### Professor Edward W. Bemis' View of The Present Clerical Crusade.

Professor Edward W. Bemis, the well-known social and economic authority and Superintendent of the Water-Works of Cleveland, writes as follows:

"In the restriction of vice, there has been a marked and steady improvement in Mayor Johnson's administration, and to a greater degree than in any previous administration. At the close of Mayor Farley's administration, just before Mayor Johnson's election, a more rigid effort to arrest all saloon-keepers selling liquor on Sunday was made, but the 150 cases that quickly accumulated led to so much litigation in the courts that nothing came of it, and the cases were finally dismissed.

"The clergymen did make as pronounced an attack on Mayor McKisson, the Republican mayor who preceded Farley, as lately upon Johnson. McKisson's administration was

notoriously corrupt in every way, and the attack of the clergymen was in line with that of the rest of the city and was successful.

"The second important attack made by the clergymen in recent years upon a city administration was when Mayor Johnson ran for mayor a second time, and it was carried on along the lines of the present crusade. It hurt him somewhat but was not largely successful. The present crusade is not as general as the previous ones. Many of the clergy are in sympathy with the mayor, and others think that he is more nearly right than wrong, although they may not entirely agree with him. I understand that less than twenty-five clergymen in all this large city are united in the fierce attack that the few are making.

"Mayor Johnson does not accept the idea that the street-railways and lighting companies are back of these attacks upon him, while there are others in the city who believe that this is the case; but it is not supposed that the clergy are, in most cases, aware of any such instigation of the movement, even if the public-service corporations be behind it. The clergy who are taking up the fight seem to be chiefly interested not in social evils *per se*, but in the fact that some of them flourish to more or less extent on Sunday. I myself have been unable to determine whether outsiders are pushing the clergy on or not, but I do not think the movement is going to prove a very serious one, for the mayor is, on the whole, giving such a magnificent administration and making the city so much better in all directions than ever before, that there is not much room for attack at this time. He has suppressed public gambling for the first time in the history of the city, and has greatly restricted, if not entirely suppressed street soliciting, and run out of business the worst type of saloons. In all these respects it is the universal belief in the city and among those who seem to be acquainted with the subject, that he has done better than has any previous administration of Cleveland for any length of time, while the matters which he has raised in his recent letter to the ministers regarding broad questions of social amelioration and justice, they have absolutely ignored, in their replies, stating that they are not discussing the 'single-tax,' as they are pleased to term his excellent letter."



## RELIGIOUS ADVANCE.

### **Recent Important Step Toward Church Union in The United States.**

A SHORT time since we noted the rapid strides being taken by the Methodists, the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists of Canada to form one denomination under the name of The United Church of Canada. Early in February a religious assembly almost as important and significant in character gathered in Dayton, Ohio, at which two hundred regularly appointed commissioners were present from the Methodist Protestant, the United Brethren and the Congregational churches. They were assembled to discuss ways and means for bringing about a complete union between these denominations. After three days of serious discussion marked by a broad, tolerant and generous spirit, the commissioners agreed that union was feasible and the outline of a practical plan was agreed upon; and while it will be about two years before the next conferences of the bodies will meet, there seems little doubt but what ultimately the union will be effected. The Congregationalists have 700,000 members, the United Brethren 260,000, and the Methodist Protestants 200,000, making a total membership of 1,160,000.

It is interesting to note how instinctively the dominant note of the new age is expressing itself. As the keynote of the old epoch was competition and growth and stimulation through warfare, so the dominant note of the incoming age is union or coöperation. This is seen alike in the business, the political and the religious world, and best of all, it is expressing itself more and more in an international way in the war against war, or the international movement for peace throughout the world.

In the business world, it is true, the expression is to a great degree abnormal, in that instead of the union or coöperation which is supplanting competition being a union of all for all, it is at the present time in most instances a union or coöperation of the few for the exploitation and oppression of the many. But the great coöperative work in Great Britain and elsewhere, no less than the governmental coöperative labors so splendidly successful in New Zealand, is demonstrating the feasibility of coöperation or union of all for all, which we believe is bound to take the place of the war, the waste, the discord and the hate-engendering impulses which dominated the age of strife and competition from which we are emerging.

## SIGNIFICANT ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE GROWING TENDENCY TO PREJUDICE THE PUBLIC THROUGH SYSTEMATIC MISREPRESENTATION.

### **Jack London's New Haven Speech.**

WE HAVE on several occasions called the attention of our readers to the discreditable methods of the great news-gathering agencies that disseminate reports of happenings and utterances of prominent men. Things favorable to privileged wealth and reactionary thought are generously noticed, while those things that are antagonistic to corporate wealth are suppressed or shamefully garbled. A notable example of this character occurred when an insignificant judge in Oregon ruled that the amendment incorporating Direct-Legislation in the constitution of that state was unconstitutional. Then the asso-

ciated press gave lengthy reports of the judge's rulings, which were not only published far and near under large headlines, but were discussed at length by the minions of privileged wealth all over the land, who lingered over plutocracy's supposed victory as bees linger over the honey-giving clover. Later, when the Supreme Court of Oregon reversed the ruling of the little judge and sustained the constitutionality of the amendment in one of the ablest and most convincing arguments that has been handed down from the bench in the past quarter of a century, this fact was considered of so little importance in the eyes of the associated press that it escaped notice.

Our readers will call to mind the shamefully garbled report of Mr. Bryan's New Haven speech during the campaign of 1896, that could have no other effect than to mislead the public through misrepresenting the statesman who had received the nomination to the presidency from the Democratic party. Here, as in the case of the Oregon amendment, editors under the orders of the high financiers and the corporations seized upon the garbled report for homilies built on assumptions that many of them must have known to be false.

Recently we have had another example of deliberate garbling and misrepresentation on the part of the news-gathering associations which scattered far and wide a report of a speech alleged to have been delivered by the brilliant novelist, Jack London. This report was so worded as to shamefully misrepresent the author and was apparently a deliberate attempt to prejudice the public through false representation. As in the case of the garbled report of Mr. Bryan's address, this despatch emanated from New Haven and purported to give an account of the speech given before Yale College. Unhappily for the press despatch reporter, the address was a set speech identical with the addresses that were so favorably received at Harvard University and elsewhere throughout the country, so the tens of thousands who had heard Mr. London quickly detected in the report another exhibition of moral turpitude; but the despatch gave plutocratic editors a desired opportunity to editorially emphasize the misrepresentations it contained. Among the journals which devoted editorial space to this misrepresentation was the *New York Times*. This editorial, however, elicited an excellent reply from Upton Sinclair, author of *Manassas* and the powerful realistic novel, *The Jungle*. His reply so admirably illustrates the manner in which conscienceless and irresponsible writers garble and misrepresent the utterances of those whose views are not pleasing to reactionaries and to privileged classes, that we reproduce the letter in full:

"To the Editor of *The New York Times*:"

"I note your editorial of yesterday regarding Jack London's lecture to the students of Yale University. As London is now on his way to California he will probably not see your article for a couple of weeks. As the Vice-President of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, and the person who was instrumental in bringing about the meetings at Yale,

Harvard, and Grand Central Palace, New York, I trust that I may be allowed to comment upon your criticisms.

"I heard London's address at Grand Central Palace. It was read from manuscript. The same address was read in New Haven. Accordingly, I can say positively that several remarks in your quotation convey a wrong impression of what the lecturer actually said. Important qualifications have been omitted.

"The grip of Socialism,' [I quote] 'is tightening upon the world. The blood-red banner will soon be waving wildly in all winds.'

"At this point the lecturer took pains to explain to the audience that the 'blood-red banner' was universally and systematically misunderstood; that, as used by the Socialists, it is a symbol of the Brotherhood of Man, and not of war and destruction. I quote again:

"If people object to our programme because of the Constitution, then to hell with the Constitution!"

"The remark of the speaker really was something as follows:

"If people object to our programme because of the Constitution, what if the working-class should take for a motto the words of a militia general who at one time held sway in portions of the state of Colorado: 'To hell with the Constitution.'?"

"We socialists will wrest the power from the present rulers,' [I quote again] 'by war if necessary. Stop us if you can!'

"At this point in the lecture it was explained that the Socialist party is a party of Constitutional agitation in countries where universal suffrage and free speech prevail, and that in countries where these Constitutional rights are denied it resorts to force.

"In your comments you say all Socialists aim, consciously or unconsciously, at 'a redistribution of wealth.' I am a Socialist, and I think I can speak for the Socialists in saying that what we do aim at is as exactly and diametrically the opposite of 'redistribution of wealth' as the human mind is capable of conceiving. Under the plan which is proposed by Socialists, the wealth of society, the capital, would be as much distributed as Central Park, the Bartholdi Statue, the United States Post-Office, and the Congressional Library are distributed.

"You say that 'very few Socialists have Jack London's courage,' and imply that the rest of us shrink from stating our purposes fairly. If I may be pardoned the remark, your comments upon Socialism are of a kind

to suggest that you are not familiar with Socialist writings and lectures. I heard Jack London's address; I have heard and read many other Socialist addresses, and so far as I know there is no such difference to be noted between them.

"UPTON SINCLAIR.

"Princeton, N. J., February 2, 1906."

### Placing Jack London's Books Under The Ban.

THE LIBRARY officials of the little town of Derby, Connecticut, were quick to act on the irresponsible and false report of Mr. London's speech and ordered his admirable works from the library. We understand that some of the Pittsburgh libraries have done the same. It does not appear to have occurred to these officials that simple justice demanded that they ascertain if the wild reports published were authoritative before taking such action. Mr. London's *The Call of the Wild* and other stories are recognized as among the best works of fiction that have been brought out recently by the great firm of The Macmillan Company. *The People of the Abyss*, also published by the same firm, embodying Mr. London's personal studies in the slums of London, has called forth the highest praise from many of the most able, discriminating and competent critics of social conditions. Surely fairness to the public no less than to the author should have restrained officials from hasty and ill-considered action.

### History Repeats Itself.

THE BARRING of Jack London's books from public libraries affords another example of history repeating itself. In 1833 Lydia Maria Child published her remarkably able work entitled *An Appeal in Behalf of the Class of Americans Called Africans*. This work brought Dr. Channing into the anti-slavery movement. It changed the course of Thomas Wentworth Higginson's life and, as he has often said, made him an abolitionist. Of the work Colonel Higginson states that he regards it as the ablest anti-slavery work published. It also led Dr. John G. Palfry, who inherited a plantation in Louisiana, to free his slaves. But it aroused all the defenders and apolo-

gists for the "institution," as slavery was called throughout the northeast. A reasonless and unjustifiable hue and cry was raised all over New England against Mrs. Child. She was denounced and her work was shamefully distorted. The Boston Athenæum, to its everlasting shame be it said, "withdrew from Mrs. Child the privilege of its library." "Boston society shut its doors upon her." For eight years Mrs. Child had published an exceptionally popular and successful paper for children called *Juvenile Miscellany*, but so successful were the apologists for slavery in arousing baseless prejudice that subscriptions to the paper fell off so rapidly that the publication had to be suspended.

There is, however, we believe, a greater sense of fairness among our people to-day than in the earlier period, and unless we mistake the temper of our people, when it becomes known that the brilliant young novelist has been made the victim of unscrupulous misrepresentation, his books, his writings and his views will be in greater demand than ever before.

Personally we do not agree with much of Mr. London's thought, and we greatly deplore his addressing himself to the class-interest of the workers. One of the great indictments which we have insisted upon making against the plutocracy to-day is that in effect it is dividing society into classes—something that we believe to be absolutely inimical to democracy; and in justice to Mr. London and many other reform workers it should be said that it is this actual division which is going on, and which is so marked at the present time that no thoughtful person can deny its reality, that has largely led to the appeals to the workers to form a class and insist upon their rights. We believe that Mr. London is what his critics are not—honest and just; that he is a passionate lover of the people and a true friend of integrity in thought, deed and life; and that he is a man who places what he believes to be the cause of justice and human rights above all thought of self. We abhor the attempts to fan popular prejudice against this high-minded lover of humanity, by shameful and gross misrepresentation of facts. Moreover, we believe in freedom of speech and of the press, heartily subscribing to the noble dictum of Thomas Jefferson, that "error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

## UNDER FOREIGN FLAGS.

**Installation of The President of France With Democratic Simplicity.**

ON SUNDAY afternoon, February 18th, M. Fallieres was installed President of the Republic of France. The ceremonies were beautiful in their democratic simplicity and contrasted boldly with the vulgar, ostentatious, wastefully extravagant, reactionary and imperialistic display that has marked the inaugurations of recent Presidents of the United States, and should serve as a reprimand and an admonition to our people.

We have been accustomed to regard the French people as inordinately fond of pomp and display, and under the more reactionary presidents that preceded M. Loubet there was much of the anti-republican and imperialistic display exhibited at inaugurations, but the men and administrations responsible for this were reactionary at heart and out of sympathy with the great soul of democracy. On the day when M. Zola published his famous letter to President Faure entitled "I Accuse," France awakened. She had long been a troubled sleeper, or perhaps a better simile would be an unwilling captive. She had grown increasingly restless under the domination of an army which was daily becoming more and more arrogant, sinister and autocratic—an army whose officers had been largely drawn from the most ultra-reactionary and monarchical elements, and she had grown weary of the systematic and relentless warfare of the religious orders waged against the public-school system and all that was liberal in government. When Zola thundered his denunciation against a recreant and cowardly administration he gave articulation to the feelings of democratic France. The people awakened. There could be no mistaking the feeling of France, and the government faced about and from its steady downward journey toward reaction, clericalism and monarchy it turned again toward the Alps of liberty, justice and fraternity. Since then the nation has steadily moved along the highway of democracy, far distancing our republic in many respects.

It is to be hoped that our people will imitate the wise example in simplicity given by our sister republic. If our people no longer possess the magnificent courage and the power of initiative that marked this nation in her glorious youth; if we must look for examples un-

der foreign flags; if we must ape other peoples, let us imitate France and not Germany, Switzerland and not Russia.

**The King and The New Liberal Government of Great Britain.**

THE ADDRESS delivered by King Edward at the opening of Parliament on February 19th foreshadowed the new liberal policy of the government. The new programme as outlined embraces aggressive work for peace, contrasting in a striking way with the jingo spirit of the Conservative régime. The programme is essentially one of construction, of peace, of justice and progress. Freedom of trade will be, of course, maintained, and a more equitable system of taxation will engross the attention of the statesmen. Conciliatory measures, embracing a share in government, are promised for Ireland. Cessation of coolie importations to South Africa, the fulfilling of the promise of a responsible government for the Transvaal, and the keeping of faith generally with other peoples and with the spirit of enlightened government seem foreshadowed from the King's address and the statements that have thus far emanated from responsible heads of the Liberal government.

The King's address indicated a return on the part of England to sanity and enlightened responsibility which has been conspicuous by its absence since the days when the malign influence of Chamberlain dominated the policy of the Conservatives, resulting in a criminal foreign war and in repressive and unjust legislation at home.

**The Countess of Warwick on The Hustings.**

ONE OF the strangest sights of the many strange scenes in the recent election in England was the spectacle of one of the most brilliant, intellectual and gifted titled women of the realm on the hustings addressing the laborers of London in behalf of a Socialist candidate for Parliament. This candidate was successful.

The Countess of Warwick is one of the truly remarkable women of England. Her political evolution has been in many ways similar to that of Victor Hugo. Like the great Frenchman, in her youth she was an



avowed Conservative. Later she became a Liberal and still later an outspoken and aggressive Social Democrat. The course of Victor Hugo, it will be remembered, was marked by precisely these three stages.

But the Countess is far more than a doctrinaire reformer. Few women in England have wrought more effectively in practical measures for the education and upbuilding of the poor, and especially the children of the poor, in Warwickshire and other parts of England than has this remarkable woman whose coat-of-arms, singularly enough, bears these words: "I scarcely call these things my own."

### Fabians in The English Parliament.

FROM the *Fabian News* we note that seven members of the Fabian Society have been elected to Parliament, one of whom is on the executive committee of the society. Four of these belong to the Labor Party and three to the Liberals. It is needless to say that these votes will all be cast in favor of measures that will be favorable to progressive and enlightened democracy.

### The Overthrow of Constitutional Government in Hungary.

ON FEBRUARY 19th the Emperor Francis Joseph as King of Hungary arrogated to himself autocratic and unconstitutional rights and forcibly dissolved the Parliament.

The conditions in Hungary are peculiar, as we pointed out some time since. The prime minister appointed by the King to form a cabinet proposed an extremely liberal and democratic programme embracing universal suffrage and other things inimical to the wishes of the aristocratic or feudalistic Magyars.

That the Austrian King was insincere in his pretended friendship for popular government was clearly seen from the fact that he steadfastly refused to allow universal suffrage in Austria, and his whole long reign has been marked by as reactionary a spirit as he dared to manifest.

On the other hand, by the promulgation of this extremely liberal and democratic programme he has necessarily cut from the Magyars and the so-called Liberals of Hungary a vast amount of popular sympathy that would otherwise be theirs.

The overt act of the Emperor in refusing to allow the Hungarian government to pass its own laws and in forcibly breaking up the

Parliament has substituted despotic rule for parliamentary or constitutional government and has invited a revolution of force. It is difficult to predict what the immediate result will be, but unless we greatly underestimate the spirit of liberalism that has permeated the dual empire, the action of the Emperor will lead at no distant day to a general uprising and overthrow of the reigning house.

### A Further Word on Prime Minister Seddon's Great Victory in New Zealand.

THE REVISED returns of the recent election in New Zealand give Prime Minister Seddon even a more overwhelming majority in the Parliament than we reported in a previous issue. It seems that the combined opposition numbers but twelve, while the ministerial party counts sixty members.

### The Debt of New Zealand.

*The Australian Review of Reviews* is somewhat exercised in regard to the indebtedness of New Zealand, which, it urges, should in a time of prosperity such as the present be substantially reduced instead of increased. In this respect, it seems to us, it entirely ignores the fundamental difference between an indebtedness contracted for properties that are of ever-increasing value and which naturally add enormously to the wealth of the government, and expenses for war and for the maintenance of armaments or expenses which do not add to the wealth of the nation, to individual prosperity, development and happiness.

This is a point that is constantly ignored by many of the best-meaning citizens, owing to the deliberate attempts to mislead which are being made by the special-pleaders for the public-service corporations.

In a recent address delivered by Sir Oliver Lodge on "Public Service *versus* Private Expenditure," this eminent English educator and scientist dwells on this point in a luminous manner. "What," he says, "is known as public debt is really a public investment, and anything not spent in the waste of war should have public works or elevated humanity or other good results to show for it. Then it at once becomes capital, and is no more appropriately called debt; it has not been spent but invested. 'Funds' is a better name for it."

Now in regard to New Zealand's expenditures in the development of her public utilities,

—her great railways, telegraphs and public buildings, her reacquisition of the land for the benefit of all the people, her advances to the laboring men of money to build homes, her erection of homes with a view to disposing of the same to actual home-builders at such terms as will pay the state and at the same time help to develop independent, self-sustaining citizenship,—all represent money well spent because they represent money that has behind it property interests of vast and increasing value, and at the same time a large proportion of the money is being spent in such a manner as to develop a nobler civilization and to make the individuals strong, self-supporting and prosperous home-builders, whereas otherwise many of them would drift downward to conditions of dependence.

New Zealand has also spent, and we think very wisely spent, considerable sums of money in developing a system by which she is able to market the products of her farmers and stock-raisers in London, so as to give the small dealer and the individual farmer the benefits of profits which under conditions such as prevail in America all go into the hands of the trusts. In New Zealand the government has its depots in various parts of the commonwealth, where it receives butter, eggs, poultry, beef, mutton and other products of the farm and range. These are all collected and for-

warded to London where they are marketed by the state, the individual receiving all the returns above a small sum in excess of the actual cost of marketing. The state also spends some money in instructing the farmers and citizens in general as to the latest and best methods of farming, dairying and carrying on various productive enterprises. This represents an immediate expense, it is true, but in the long run it must inevitably enormously add to the wealth, both individually and collectively, of the people.

The debt of New Zealand, we believe, represents assets incomparably greater than the sum expended, and unlike the debts of almost all other civilized commonwealths, the expenditures have been almost wholly for the development of society and the resources of the state, instead of for armaments and the waste of war. Her debt conforms to Sir Oliver Lodge's definition of "capital" or "funds" much better than to debt in the sense in which the term is used when referring to most national debts, where the larger part of the expense has been for war or army and naval expenditures.

Up to the present time the administration of the New Zealand government has been marked by strict economy on the part of the people's servants and has been singularly free from the taint of corruption or graft.

## "THE MENACE OF PRIVILEGE." \*

### A BOOK-STUDY.

**N**O MORE important work dealing with the grave problems that confront the American Republic to-day has appeared in months than Mr. George's strong, clear and logical work, *The Menace of Privilege*. It is a book that every young man and woman who loves the Republic should carefully read. At a time when a vicious opportunism is pervading our social, economic and political literature and the most plausible sophistries are being cunningly advanced to excuse reactionary and class-movements inimical to free government, and when the fundamental principles of democracy are being sneered at and flouted by

those high in positions of honor and trust who seek the wealth and favor of privileged interests, it is refreshing to find a strong, logical work instinct with the spirit of the fathers—a work in which clear thinking goes hand in hand with high moral idealism and that reverence for justice which a recognition of the sacred rights of humanity imposes on those who would be true leaders and way-showers of the people—those who would place the principles of democracy above all sordid ends. Mr. George has nobly taken up the great work which his illustrious father carried on and has given us a contribution of vital importance at the present crisis.

The work is divided into twelve books, the first of which is devoted to the consideration

\**The Menace of Privilege*. A Study of the Dangers to the Republic from the Existence of a Favored Class. By Henry George, Jr. Cloth. Pp. 420. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Macmillan Company.

of "The Land of Inequality" and "The Cause of Inequality." When the Republic was young, when honest work was the rule and "the badge of responsibility and respectability," "the printer, Benjamin Franklin, the surveyor, George Washington, the lawyer, Thomas Jefferson, the sailor, John Paul Jones, the merchant, John Hancock, were American types of manhood and practical citizenship." There were then no great fortunes, while "on the other hand, real poverty was casual and nowhere deep or chronic." Then the free access to the soil and the absence of monopoly rights rendered ours preëminently the land of equality.

That a great change has come to pass is obvious to the most superficial observer.

"This Republic has become palpably a land of inequality. There has been no lessening in the power of producing wealth. On the contrary, nowhere has there been so auspicious an era of invention and labor-saving processes. Production has increased by leaps and bounds. But there has been something grievously at fault with its distribution. It has gone in great part for the enrichment of a few. As if by magic, it has piled up amazing fortunes; as though some possessed lodestones drawing to them a very large portion of the wealth and leaving to others only sufficient to afford subsistence and barely encourage a continuance of production.

"The effect of this highly unequal distribution must be manifold and marked. First of all it divides the community into two general classes: the gainers and the losers; into the House of Have and the House of Want. Next it causes broadly a lowering of public and private morals.

"Where wealth concentrates, the rich grow intoxicated. They are, as it were, in a land of wonders, where dollars pair and multiply without aid of human thought or touch of human hand. Coins that but a moment before filled a single bag now fill an array of them, such as greeted the eyes of Ali Baba when the words 'open sesame' disclosed the treasure-cave. This sudden flood of riches begets a thirst for more, particularly as their possessors realize that with these riches goes a power to buy—to command—the services of the multitude struggling for subsistence or something better. And so desire augments. Those who have a million would have ten; those who have ten would have a score, a hundred, millions. They play a game of chance

not only for its excitement, but for its gain—a game where winnings come so fast as to supersede the ordinary means of counting. They play with a money-greed upon them. They play even when they know the dice are loaded, if indeed they do not load them."

In the early days of our nation men and women lived the normal life, with correct sense of moral proportions. As a natural result, civic rectitude and a high sense of honor were everywhere manifest in public, in business and in private life. Here again a great change is to be noticed. The rich, fearing they may fall below their fellow-rich, and thus be brought into what they consider disgrace; the middle-class, seeing the closing door of opportunity and feeling the pressure from above which threatens them with poverty; and the poor, battling, bravely battling, but often with a ferocity born of an ever-present dread of dire want, become infected with a mania for self-interest which obscures the higher moral ideals absolutely essential to an advancing and upward-tending civilization.

To-day we find "common transactions of life are marked by deception, by downright lying, by stealthy stealing, by organized robbery. Not only do our courts and prisons swarm with petty thieves and swindlers, but our great captains in manufactures, in commerce and in finance resort to all manner of underhandedness. Our politics reek with graft, and even men of highest standing turn positions of public and private trust to personal gain. The citizens of this republic, who formerly were, on the whole, so generous, upright and independent in all their dealings, now act like men possessed. In common phrase they are 'money-mad.'"

There is a great deal of profitless talk about there being no hope of better things until the people come back to the old moral guidance and standards. This merely means "that the people will again become moral when they become moral." But as a matter of fact the key to the moral problem lies in the restoration to the people of just conditions that will result in just distribution of wealth.

"The essence of the matter is that this Republic will revert to the moral order when there is a less unequal distribution of the vast wealth generally produced, when some do not find it possible to pile up huge, mocking private fortunes, and when the general body of the citizens find it easier to get a living commensurate with advancing civilized life.

"And thus it is not true that there is no way open to correct general morals. What is needed is to correct the thing that corrupts general morals. That thing is the unequal distribution of wealth. Correct that and morals will correct themselves. Let it be possible for all to get the easy living to which the tremendous increase in productive power entitles them, and morality will govern generally in the higher as well as in the common affairs of men."

De Tocqueville in writing to his father of the old conditions, after observing that "this people is one of the happiest in the world," said: "Amongst the novel objects that attracted my attention during my stay in the United States, nothing struck me more forcibly than the general equality of conditions among the people."

The change in our social and economic conditions was coincident with the rise of a privileged class.

"Now the word 'privilege' means not a natural, but an artificial condition. Even its derivation shows that. It comes from the Latin *privilegium*, meaning an ordinance in favor of a person; and *privilegium* comes from *privus*, private, and *let* or *legem*, a law. Hence, in its essence, the word 'privilege' means a private law, a special ordinance or a usage equivalent to a grant or an immunity in favor of a particular person.

"This word privilege, or private advantage, had application to land monopoly which destroyed Rome."

To-day it is much as it was in olden times.

"When we examine the matter in the light of simple reason we may see that of all privileges land ownership is the greatest,—that, indeed, it is the chief cause of unequal distribution of wealth. For consider: In the beginning God made nature and man. He did not endow man with the power to produce something from nothing, but required him to apply his powers—that is, his labor—to nature so as to draw forth the things necessary to satisfy human desire. The part of nature to which man was to apply his labor was land.

"Where practically all available land of a particular kind is subjected to private ownership, a monopoly of land is created. The power of this monopoly in the hands of any one—of an imbecile, if you please—might

make him rich out of the tribute that would have to be paid by such as were driven by necessity to use his land."

Mr. George, after further discussing the influence of land monopoly, passes to an examination of those less obvious results of land monopoly that are none the less great immediate factors in the unequal distribution of wealth. "And out of these various forms of land monopoly," he tells us "comes a superimposed speculation, which, to those who can control it, is prolific. This is speculation in mining, railroad and 'industrial' stocks. These stocks are issued by companies based upon land monopoly of some kind."

He shows how, with some land value as a basis, the modern gamblers of Wall street, by the well-known practices of watering stocks and making secret arrangements with great holders of special interests so as to eliminate, in so far as they themselves are concerned, all element of uncertainty from their game, making the results precisely the same as gambling with loaded dice or stacked cards, succeed in amassing vast fortunes, never earned and to which from neither the standpoint of moral right nor justice are they entitled.

He explains that he treats private-ownership in land at length because in its direct form and in its indirect or public franchise form "it constitutes the worst of all privileges, since it commits the heaviest robberies from the wealth producers." Next he notices other forms of privilege, as, for example, "taxation, when it is made to fall, as is generally the case, only slightly upon monopoly advantages, which it might be used to kill or to absorb into the public treasury. . . . The protective tariff is a shining example" of this. "It is sought by domestic producers to discourage foreign competitors. The higher such tax, the less the competition and the greater the centering of production in a few hands."

"There are still other subsidiary forms of privilege, but speaking in a general way, the privileges causing the unequal distribution of wealth may be named in four divisions, to wit: (1) natural opportunities privately held under special or general laws; (2) various kinds of taxation on production and its fruits; (3) franchise grants; (4) powers of incorporation and various sorts of immunities in the courts.

"The existence of these various forms of privilege explains, and nothing else will ex-



plain, the sudden rise of private fortunes in the United States. So long as privileges were few and carried only weak appropriating powers, the mass of the people of the country had practically equal access to natural opportunities, and were deprived of but a small share of the produce of their labor. The country was then, as observed by Mr. Bryce, a land of equality in respect to the production and distribution of wealth."

From this luminous exposition of inequality and its causes, our author passes to his second book or division and notices typical "Princes of Privilege." He briefly and graphically sketches some leading figures who represent wealth acquired under various forms of privilege. J. J. Astor comes in for an extended treatment. Among other typical figures are John W. Mackay, John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie and J. Pierpont Morgan. Some of these men acquired their fortunes through land speculation and holding; others rose to the mastership of millions by seizing upon the stored-up wealth of nature, together with other forms of privilege. Thus Mr. Rockefeller's wealth springs from several forms of privilege, but chiefly from the wealth stored up by nature, which should be a common heritage, and from secret railroad rebates. Andrew Carnegie had three sources of privilege aiding him to acquire his fortune: land, transportation and tariff. J. Pierpont Morgan, the trust-former and merger-effector, has been able through the use of water or the inflation of securities to appropriate millions upon millions of wealth for which, in the last analysis, the people must pay. Here we find another kind of privilege in which the promoters put stocks on the market capitalized for several times—often three to nine times—the amount of money actually represented. Then by shrewd manipulation and adroit deceptions they unload the stock at par or above, depress it, then bull it. Thus coming and going they reap millions through barefaced gambling operations of the most dishonorable nature. Nor is this all. On the watered stock, by virtue of their privileges in land, transportation and tariff, they are able to force the consuming millions to pay exorbitant prices that in effect are the same as usury. Thus by gambling with stacked cards and by practices that are equal to usury, fabulous fortunes are acquired that are not earned—not the rightful fruit of honest industry on the part of the beneficiaries.

After a luminous discussion of typical princes of privilege and the methods by which they acquire vast fortunes at the expense of morality and the weal of the nation and the people, our author considers how the princes live—their palatial homes and their lavish expenditures in furnishing; their amusements, dissipations and marital relations; after which he devotes a chapter to "Aristocracy a Fruit of Privilege"—a chapter pregnant with solemn truths that should be impressed on the conscience of every thinking American.

Book Three is devoted to "Victims of Privilege," in which the despoilment of the masses and the physical, mental and moral deterioration incident to unjust conditions for which privilege is responsible, are treated with a statesmanlike breadth of vision and with that true sense of moral proportion that marks the work of a fundamentally sound reasoner.

Book Four is devoted to "Resistance to Privilege" and contains chapters on "Organization of Laborers" and "Dangers of Unionism." No man in America is a truer friend of labor than is Mr. George; yet like his illustrious father he does not allow sympathy to blind him to defects that are radically opposed to justice or the law of freedom on which true advancement must depend. Our author, while showing some dangerous tendencies and wrongs for which labor-unions are responsible, clearly points out that these things are in most instances the result of privilege-making conditions inimical to freedom and justice, and making it seem to labor as necessary to resort to aggressive acts in order to protect itself from the crushing power of privilege.

To us the chapters that are of the greatest importance to the rank and file of our people, and especially to those who love the Republic and who dare and care to think seriously, are found in the division of the work entitled "Weapons of Privilege," in which our author in a clear and masterly manner discusses the "Use of the Courts by Privilege," "Government by Injunction," "The Bayonet in Civil Affairs," and "Federal Army in Strikes." These chapters should be issued in pamphlet form and the whole country should be sown with them, precisely as was England sown with free-trade and anti-corn-law literature in the forties of the last century. Here our author traces historically the rise and the abuse of the injunction power, showing how the courts have become "a most potent weapon in the hands of Privilege to crush strikes and break the backs of trades unions." He shows

how the Federal judges are "appointed almost wholly from the ranks of attorneys representing the great monopoly corporations"; and he shows very clearly how difficult, if not impossible, it is for such men to be impartial or just when their point-of-view has for years been adverse to the people's rights and interests. So long as our courts are recruited almost wholly from the army of hired retainers of privileged interests it is idle to expect justice, for "it is needless to cast a breath of suspicion against their integrity to perceive that a bench made up of judges drawn from such sources will lean in the direction of Privilege."

Interesting and highly suggestive is the history of the precedents upon which the injunction abuses rest. The march of the injunction abuse has on several occasions practically resulted in government by injunction, and to-day we actually see a governor occupying the seat who was never elected to the chair he holds, never received a vote, indeed, for governor. J. F. McDonald, "the present governor of the State of Colorado, may properly be called an injunction-made Executive."

Ominous and subversive as is the flagrant abuse of the injunction power, it is by no means the only sinister influence, destructive to justice-governed and reason-ruled democracy, that has marked the ascendancy of privileged interests in our city, state and national government; for "along with the abnormal development of the injunction principle has come within the last two decades in the United States a startling use of soldiers in civil affairs." Mr. George reviews the aggressions of privilege and its servile tools in graphic language, giving a vivid picture of the overthrow of free government in Colorado by the high-handed and thoroughly unjustifiable action of the ill-famed Governor J. H. Peabody and the unspeakably profane and brutal General Bell, both the most abject tools of lawless corporate interests. Bell, as Mr. George well observes, "is one of the kind of men who forget the rights and duties of the citizen when they don soldier clothes."

Other notable instances of the use of State and Federal soldiers are cited at length as showing how "Privilege uses the soldiers of the Republic as it uses the courts—for itself and in violation, in abrogation, of the rights of the body of the people."

The book devoted to the "Weapons of Privilege" constitutes one of the most important contributions to the literature of democ-

racy to-day; yet even of greater moment, if that be possible, are the next two divisions, Books Six and Seven, which are concerned with privilege, the corruptor of national, state and municipal politics, and its influence over public opinion. The author shows in the most conclusive manner that privilege to-day "is the real spoil of politics." "And it is an enormous spoil. It is a huge river of wealth that comes from laying villages, towns, cities, states and the nation at large under contribution." And very clearly he shows that:

"This contribution is not after the manner of a conquering army of old that slew and sacked. It is effected in the modern way, peaceably and legally, by acts of legislature that make direct gifts from the public treasury or that grant powers for appropriating wealth from the general mass of the people. Some idea of the magnitude of such powers may be drawn from the fact that in Greater New York alone the ownership of the franchises or mere rights of way used by the public-service corporations there is by competent judges computed to be worth at the present time \$40,000,000 a year."

By the marshaling of a convincing array of indisputable evidence, Mr. George shows beyond peradventure of doubt, not only that there is an enormous—an almost inconceivably enormous—annual loot garnered from America's millions by the princes of privilege, but also how the conquest of the modern Egyptian overlords is rendered possible through the black-horse cavalry, through giant lobbies and other agencies which work in the halls of city, state and national government. The story is one that will arouse any sane man to a sensible realization of the stupendous and almost fatal character of the peril that threatens the Republic to-day. The power of privilege, however, working noiselessly through political bosses, party machines and its vast army of retainers whom it has placed in office, would be of short tenure in a land where the people enjoyed the educational advantages enjoyed by our people and the right of the ballot-box, were it not for the influence of privilege over the press, the pulpit and the school—an influence which our author describes in a clear, forceful and compelling manner.

Book Eight deals with the "Present and Past." Here the centralization of government and its strong tendency away from the basic principles of democracy are startlingly

illustrated by an array of citations of recent happenings that are autocratic and bureaucratic in character and that are making precedents that in time may easily be used to overthrow even the semblance of democratic government. Centralization at home has naturally enough been followed by foreign aggression, which receives proper attention from Mr. George, after which he considers our nation in the light of the lessons and warnings of civilizations that have gone before. Here, with a statesmanlike breadth of vision and the deep insight of a philosophical student of history, our author marshals before us pictures of events and conditions of other days that wrought death in nations which were long oblivious to the presence of a mortal malady—nations and civilizations which imagined, indeed, that their external pomp, splendor and show of power spoke of vitality and virility, when as a matter of fact they were the hectic flush of death, the autumn burst of exterior glory that spoke of rapidly approaching decay. Mr. George shows how Rome went to her death, and that we are on precisely the same highway; how privilege destroyed the mistress of the Old World as it surely will destroy the great Republic, unless men and women of conscience and conviction consecrate their lives and their all to the restoration of the nation to the people.

The closing sections of the work are concerned with "The Remedy." In the pages that have gone before our author has clearly demonstrated the evil conditions whose existence none can truthfully deny, and that "in consequence of these privileges, veritable princes of riches are being raised up on the one side, while the masses are being held down to an intensifying struggle for a living on the other." He has shown that we have to-day "two distinct classes—the one imbued with feelings of superiority and arrogance, the other of envy and hatred"; and he has also shown that "as a further consequence, public and private morals are suffering, the superabundantly rich falling into monstrous business practices, private infidelities, divorce habits and irresponsibility for child-bearing, while the multitude of workers are being reduced to conditions breeding want, sin and crime, from which must come general physical, mental and moral deterioration." He points out that:

"All these results we have seen to follow a continuing unequal distribution of wealth, and this unequal distribution of wealth to be

a fruit of the grants and passive sanctions of Government, called privileges.

"Therefore in looking for a remedy or for remedies for this mass of great evils besetting the Republic, we must address ourselves to their causes—to privileges."

He finds these privileges to be divided into four great groups or classes:

"I. Private ownership of natural opportunities;

"II. Tariff and other taxation on production and its fruits;

"III. Special Government grants; and

"IV. Grants under general laws and immunities in the courts."

These tap-roots of privilege, these fosterers of inequality, are analyzed somewhat at length, our author's purpose being to show, with the aid of what has gone before, precisely how they are the parents of the brood of evils that are blasting and blighting present-day democracy. Political independence is essential for the florescence of civilization, but it must be supplemented by economic independence that cannot exist where privilege flourishes. Equality of opportunities and of rights demands the abolition of privilege and the return to the natural order.

Many who have followed Mr. George with great pleasure and assent through all the earlier chapters of the work will question the sufficiency of his remedies under present conditions. Some will doubtless feel that he has touched too lightly on some of the forms of privilege, as, for example, that enjoyed by the banking interests; while many will feel that he should have emphasized more strongly that which he so frankly believes in and which he is convinced would come with the establishment of fundamentally just economic conditions—the establishment of purely democratic methods in government as provided by the Initiative, the Referendum and the Right of Recall. On the other hand, many will feel that this work, so fundamental and so comprehensive in its treatment of the root-evils of the age and time, is equally comprehensive in the remedies proposed and which our author believes would transform society, resulting, to use his closing words, in the following democratic changes:

"Labor applied to free conditions would find so ample a reward as to lead sensibly to a shortening of the hours of toil and the development of the mental and moral natures.

Prisons and penitentiaries, almshouses and insane asylums would cease to be crowded, and most of them would crumble in disuse: for sin and crime, and disease and helplessness, which are the progeny of involuntary poverty, or of its antithesis, superabundance, would lessen with the change that brought bountiful opportunity to all.

"Again the worth of individual manhood would shine forth, and public questions would be the interest and the concern of all. Again would revive the spirit of the town-meeting—the wisest invention," said Jefferson, 'devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government and for its preservation.'

Politics would clear and purify, for where would be the prizes that corruption now wins; who to be corrupted, among a people filled with a new hope? The bondage of the press would cease, the university be freed from the hand of special interest, the pulpit cut away from deadening dependence. The trend of Government would change from centralized, solidified, one-man power toward democratic, decentralized, federated communities. More surely then the sense and sincerity of the mass of the people would become the guides of progress; and, too strong to fear oppression, the Republic would become too just to oppress.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.\*

*The Florence of Landor.* By Lillian Whiting. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 332. Price, \$2.50 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

**I**N THIS fascinating work Lillian Whiting is seen at her best. She is a poet and an idealist who possesses in a rare degree the power to penetrate the spiritual atmosphere of persons and places; to feel and understand the aspirations, hopes, yearnings and desires of her subjects and to interpret the significance and lessons which places hold that are laden with historic associations and whose natural beauty has been enriched with the noblest creations of art.

Florence, the City of Flowers, the home of art, the gem of the Arno, would be in itself a theme rich in interest and charm to one far less gifted with the seeing eye and feeling heart of the child of imagination than is Miss Whiting. Under her touch we are made to feel again something of the indefinable spell which such historic associations ever exert over the sensitive mind; something of the witchery that Rome exercised upon the imagination of Byron.

Fascinating as is the splendid setting presented by Florence with its rich environing background of beauty and historic interest in the hands of our author, it is quite subordinate to the human interest, to the magnificent *dramatis personæ* that fill the boards and gather around the central figure in the cast. Some of the illustrious ones enter, pause but

a little time and make their exits, leaving a whisper of desire that interest or attraction might recall them; others remain to the end, and the time that elapses is nearly two-score years.

Landor came to Florence in 1821; the city remained his home until 1864, when he passed from this life. Here he composed those remarkable imaginary conversations which have given him an enviable place in literature. To Emerson they were a source of continual inspiration. He "publicly expressed to Landor his gratitude for having given him a resource that had never failed him in solitude. He had but to turn its rich and ample pages to find always free and sustained thought, a keen and precise understanding, an industrious observation in every department of life, an experience to which it might seem that nothing had occurred in vain, honor for every just and generous sentiment, and a scourge like that of the Furies for every oppressor, whether public or private."

In 1829 Landor was the recipient of a magnificent gift—such a gift as rarely overtakes the struggling brain-workers who are ill-equipped to acquire gold but whose wealth of thought is lavishly given to the world. An admirer, one Mr. Ablett, a Welshman, made Landor a present of a magnificent estate outside of Florence, the Villa Gherardesca, which the poet had greatly admired.

To the life of Landor in Florence our author, as would be expected, has devoted much space, yet he by no means occupies the stage to the exclusion of more illustrious thinkers

\* Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.



and workers. Here we are introduced to as brilliant a coterie of Anglo-Saxon notables as is often met with in the course of a volume; and they are not only introduced: we see them and hear them or speak or read their written words, and are given many most charming incidents and illustrations relating to them, their work and their immediate friends. Among this illustrious company are Robert and Elizabeth Browning, the Thackerays, the Trollopes, Byron, Leigh Hunt, Emerson, Hawthorne, N. P. Willis, Theodore Parker, Owen Meredith, George Eliot, Sir Frederick Leighton, William Wetmore Story, Frederick Tennyson, Hiram Powers, Swinburne, Kate Field, and others scarcely less famous in the world of literature and art, who move on and off the stage and mingle their thoughts with those of Landor during this period.

A work dealing with Florence and its beautiful surroundings, and with such a company of Anglo-Saxons, could not fail to be interesting, even in the hands of a prosaic writer; but with Miss Whiting as our guide and interpreter, the volume holds a compelling interest and charm that will be appreciated by lovers of the good, the pure and the beautiful in nature, art and literature.

*The First County Park System.* By Fred. W. Kelsey. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 300. Price, \$1.25. New York: The J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Company.

THIS work, which is a complete history of the inception and development of the Essex county park system of New Jersey, is of far greater interest to the general reader, and especially to the earnest, high-minded citizen, than the local character of the book would indicate, for two reasons: First, it supplies a working-guide for other communities where park systems are to be established, showing the points essential to be considered, the errors and mistakes to be avoided and the general plan that should always be kept in mind if the best results are to be realized. These things alone would make such a work extremely valuable to public-spirited citizens of various American commonwealths; but there is another feature of the book that greatly enhances its worth for honest-minded and patriotic Americans to-day, and that is the author's exposure of the baleful influence of the public-service corporations in frustrating a splendid and nobly planned work and subordinating

the interests of the community to the selfish enrichment of those interested in the exploiting of the people through the public-service corporations. Up to a certain point the development of the magnificent park system outlined by the original commission, in which Mr. Kelsey was a prime mover, advanced without let or hindrance; but as all seemed to be moving forward for the best interests of the county, the serpent entered the garden—the serpent in the form of the corrupt, corrupting and grafting public-service companies with their retainers, ever-present in such cases since the powerful corporations that operate the natural monopolies have gained control of the political boss and the party-machine.

The chapters on "More Bonds and 'High Finance,'" "Good Citizenship Helpless," "Toy Officials," and "A Legislative Traveesty," are deserving of the special attention of persons interested in successfully meeting and overcoming the insidious and demoralizing influence of public-service companies and privileged interests.

Mr. Kelsey's work is beautifully illustrated with maps and full-page half-tone pictures. It is a volume that merits wide circulation—a work that we can especially recommend to all persons interested in the development of park systems in and around American municipalities.

*Tarbell's Teachers' Guide to the International Sunday-School Lessons for 1906.* By Martha Tarbell, Ph.D. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 638. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a large and comprehensive volume. To teachers in orthodox Sunday-schools it will prove of the greatest possible practical value, as the author has treated the lessons in a most thoughtful and suggestive manner and has brought to her aid the brightest and most helpful thoughts of leading religious thinkers, together with a vast fund of facts relating to Oriental life, its habits and customs; to the character of the people, their modes of life and the land over which the Great Nazarene journeyed when on earth.

Each lesson is treated in a thoroughly systematic manner. After the text, important words and phrases are explained, after the manner of commentators. Then comes a department of "Suggestive Thoughts from Helpful Writers," followed by "Light from Oriental Life." These divisions are followed

by "The Approach to the Lesson," giving helpful hints for the treatment for younger pupils and for the older pupils. Next comes an exhaustive department under the head of "Lesson Thoughts and Illustrations," followed by a "Lesson Summary," the whole making the most complete and satisfactory treatment of the kind of which we have any knowledge.

For orthodox Sunday-school teachers and workers we know of no work of equal value.

---

*Hamlet and King Lear.* First Folio Edition. Edited by Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke. Limp cloth. Price, 75 cents each. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

WE HAVE recently received copies of *Hamlet and King Lear* in the new folio edition of the First Folio Shakespeare, edited by Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke, and we take this opportunity to call the attention of our readers to this important work. The First Folio edition of Shakespeare appeared in 1623, being the first collected text appearing after the great dramatist's death. It therefore presents the plays as Shakespeare finally left them. The dramas that were printed before his death were unauthorized and abound in errors. After the appearance of the First Folio the plays became the victim of successive editors, many of whom seemed to imagine that they knew Shakespeare better than he knew himself. Accordingly many of his sentences have been edited and re-edited out of all semblance to their original phrasing and meaning.

The present edition has reproduced the Shakespeare of the First Folio as printed, with the exception that when omissions appear in the First Folio from single plays published earlier, such lines have been inserted in brackets. Otherwise, barring the dropping of the long S, so confusing to modern readers, and a few other changes in the use of letters and abbreviations, this edition is a faithful reproduction of the First Folio. Words changed in modern texts are given at the foot of the pages, with the name of the first editor responsible for the change.

Here, then, we have the real Shakespeare, as redolent of the atmosphere of the Elizabethan period as are the poems of Spenser, and the quaint phrasing and spelling, while they may take from the interest of the text at first, have

a charm all their own. To possess the real Shakespeare is much, but it is by no means all that the reader secures in these volumes. The editors are exceptionally well fitted for their work. Indeed, we doubt whether there are in America two persons better fitted for the task. The prefaces and introductions are luminous essays of great value to the general reader, while the notes, literary illustrations, variorum readings and selected criticisms make this edition far and away the best popular set of Shakespeare that has appeared in America.

---

*Garrison the Non-Resistant.* By Ernest Crosby. Cloth. Pp. 141. Price, 50 cents net. Postage, 4 cents. Chicago: The Public Publishing Company.

THIS little work is in our judgment the best short life of Garrison that has appeared, and also the best work that has come from the versatile pen of Mr. Crosby; and this is saying much, for he is one of the strong conscience-forces in American literature. In *Garrison the Non-Resistant* the author displays a splendid philosophical grasp of the great things of life. Breadth of moral and mental vision and profound insight are evinced, while the spirit of the work is admirable—temperate yet positive, and pervaded with the high moral idealism which commands respect from all serious thinkers, whether or not the author's thought compels acceptance.

The work contains twelve chapters in which as would be expected, far more space is given to Garrison the non-resistant than to Garrison the abolitionist, and it is clear that our author holds the former rôle of the great reformer as the most important; for though all forms of slavery are abhorrent to Mr. Crosby, he is a non-resistant, and he believes that slavery would in a comparatively short time have been abolished in the South without the war. Moreover, he is persuaded that the war, with the race hatred engendered, has proved a greater evil than the continuance of slavery for a time, with the final result of freedom, which the commercial development of the South and the steady pressure of the sentiment of the civilized world would have achieved.

There are present in this work the moral uplift and inspiring elements that render a book vital. It is a little volume that should be placed in the hands of young people everywhere.

*The Ballingtons.* By Frances Squire. Cloth. Pp. 445. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THIS is a powerful but gloomy story of unhappy married life. The author has written a novel that may be called a cross-section of present-day life dealing with unfortunate domestic relations and the infinite tragedy that such relations imply to those who are responsive to life's higher, finer and subtler moods and calls.

A young girl, her heart filled with the beautiful ideals of youth and with a deep reverence and love for the beauty of the universe and for the Power that made that universe, marries a man who is not only an agnostic himself but who determines to mould his young wife after a pattern of his own choosing. The problems which confront her in her struggles to retain her individuality and self-respect in the midst of an environment which is fatal to all normal development of mind or soul, and at the same time to be true to what she conceives to be her duty as a wife, constitutes the groundwork for the story, which, however, also deals with the joys and sorrows of many other persons whose lives become more or less entangled with those of Ferdinand Ballington and his wife.

As a literary production the story deserves high praise. It is realistic in the best sense of that much-abused term, and the depressing effect of the story is at times counteracted by an underlying vein of humor which permeates much of the dialogue. The book is undoubtedly a true picture of conditions that unfortunately prevail in many American homes to-day; yet it is a book that we cannot find it in our heart to recommend, as it does not solve the problem and the general effect upon the reader's mind is decidedly depressing.

AMY C. RICH.

*A Maker of History.* By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 305.

Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

WE HAVE to-day few more prolific novelists than Mr. Oppenheim, and few, indeed, who possess more marked talent in certain directions than does he. *A Prince of Sinners* promised much for the future of the young author, and its promise the writer feels would have been realized had Mr. Oppenheim been content to give the public one novel a year instead of the four that have appeared from his pen within a little more than a twelvemonth.

Like all his previous works, *A Maker of History* will hold the reader's breathless interest from start to finish. Here we find the same crisp, epigrammatic style which was so marked a feature, though in a far greater degree, of *A Prince of Sinners*, and the ingenuity of plot which characterized *Mysterious Mr. Sabin*. Like the latter novel, *A Maker of History* deals with secret political intrigues in which Germany plays a far from creditable part. Mr. Oppenheim has utilized a well-known international incident of the late war between Russia and Japan in a very ingenious and original manner as the basis of the plot of the story.

A young Englishman accidentally becomes the possessor of a page from a secret treaty between Germany and Russia—a treaty which might involve France in serious difficulty were she kept in ignorance of it, which is the intention of the Czar and the Kaiser. The fact of the existence of this sheet of paper becomes known, however, to the secret police of France, and the struggles of the secret service of Germany and France to obtain possession of the paper lead to some very exciting and melodramatic adventures for the young Englishman and his sister and friends who become involved in the affair.

*A Maker of History* is a capital story filled with mysterious and exciting happenings, but one regrets to see Mr. Oppenheim writing down to this level after he has shown that he is capable of such work as *A Prince of Sinners*.

AMY C. RICH.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

MAIN CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: In this issue we present the second division of Professor KERLIN's able presentation of the master-currents of thought of the nineteenth century. If possible

this contribution is more interesting than was the previous paper, being more specific in character and dealing in a luminous manner with such brilliant and opinion-influencing minds as GOETHE, CARLYLE, BROWNING and GEORGE ELIOT. These

two papers constitute one of the most valuable contributions of the year for serious-minded students of intellectual and ethical advance.

*Trafficking in Trusts; or, Philanthropy from the Insurance View-Point:* We desire to call the special attention of all our readers to the paper by Mr. HARRY A. BULLOCK on "Trafficking in Trusts" in this issue of THE ARENA. The author is one of the most thoughtful and fearless journalists of New York City,—a man who is intimately acquainted with the workings of Wall street and insurance financiers, and his paper can be relied on as accurate. It is, we think, the best popular presentation of the insurance situation as it stands to-day that has been written.

*The Federal Regulation of Railroad Rates:* This month we publish the third of Professor PARSONS' notable series of papers on the railways. This paper deals with the regulation of rates. It will be followed by two extremely valuable papers, one dealing with the railways of Switzerland and the other with the railways of Germany. Professor PARSONS, in order to thoroughly equip himself for the preparation of his two great works now on the press dealing with the railroad question, has not only traveled all over the United States obtaining facts and data from authoritative sources, but he also spent many months in the Old World, among other things making a careful personal study of the government-owned railways of Switzerland and Germany, and these papers will embody the result of his personal investigations. In this connection we wish to state that all readers of THE ARENA should possess copies of the two new works by Professor PARSONS, which will probably be published before this issue of the magazine. One is being brought out by Dr. C. F. TAYLOR of Philadelphia and is entitled *The Railways, the Trusts and the People*. It is a monumental volume and will be indispensable to all serious students of present-day political questions in the United States. The other volume, *The Heart of the Railroad Question*, is being brought out by the well-known Boston firm of LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY and will, we believe, be the strongest presentation of the subject of railroad discriminations that has appeared.

*The Single-Tax:* We invite the special attention of our readers to the strong, clear and concise presentation of the land-reform philosophy as interpreted by HENRY GEORGE, which is presented in this issue of THE ARENA by Mr. JOHN Z. WHITE, one of the ablest and most popular representatives of the Single-Tax in America.

*College Coöperative Stores in America:* There are few more important questions before the people than that of voluntary coöperation. The steady and uninterrupted strides which have marked this movement in Great Britain and elsewhere in Europe, and the number of promising if sporadic experiments which have been successful in America, indicate the early advent of a general coöperative movement, especially as union or coöperation is the keynote of the age and the union of all for all is the only just form of coöperation which can be established. Few of our readers, we imagine, have any conception of

the extent to which the coöperative principle has been in practical operation during recent years in the colleges of this country. They will therefore read with deep interest the very thoughtful presentation of this subject by Mr. IRA CROSS of the University of Wisconsin.

*America in the Philippines:* Our conversation this month will, we think, prove of special interest to our readers, dealing as it does in a clear, direct and convincing manner with conditions in the Philippines as witnessed by one of our foremost American women in public life. Especially would we call the attention of our readers to Mrs. GOUGAR's views on contract-labor, relating as they do to the great conflict which is now being waged between justice and injustice, between democracy and reaction, between moral integrity and materialistic commercialism.

*The Coming Exodus:* This paper by ARTHUR S. PHELPS will be read with interest by our readers. The author graduated from Yale and holds the degrees of B.A. and B.D. from that institution. We do not regard the coming exodus as a step backward, but as distinctly a step forward—a step toward a saner and, under present social and economic conditions, toward an enviering condition that shall make for a higher and more normal development than is possible in the crowded centers of present-day life.

*The Color-Line in New Jersey:* There is nothing more needed to-day than the tearing away of hypocritical pretense from officials in various departments of public service. If laws are on the statute-books, they should be enforced rigorously, fairly and impartially. Nothing is more demoralizing in its influence or better calculated to destroy respect for law in the minds of the people than the maintenance on the statute-books of laws and the systematic evasion of their execution by the officials. In this issue of THE ARENA Mr. LINTON SATTERTHWAITE, one of the cleanest and strongest lawyers of New Jersey, exposes in a trenchant manner a typical case of this systematic refusal on the part of officials to uphold the statutes they are sworn to enforce.

*Incurable:* Our story this month is more than an interesting and human sketch. It carries with it a great and needed lesson. No more vicious philosophy can be promulgated than that which holds that it is the duty of pure, high-minded women to marry degraded or debauched men in order to save them. Such unions most frequently result in in-harmony, misery and the moral degradation of the wife, while the offspring of such marriages are not unfrequently moral degenerates. Mr. CARMAN is an old contributor to THE ARENA, having written for it many years ago a short time after we had founded this review, and our old readers will welcome him back to our pages.

*The Railways of Colorado:* Hon. J. Warner Mills' discussion of the railways of Colorado does not appear in this issue because the manuscript arrived too late to be used this month. It will appear in the May ARENA, and will richly repay the waiting on the reader's part.



# NEWS OF THE ARENA CLUBS AND OTHER MOVEMENTS FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRACY



## DIRECTORY OF ARENA CLUBS.

### The New Orleans Arena Club.

*President, Mrs. J. M. FERGUSON.*

*Vice-President, Mrs. HERMAN J. SEIFERTH.*

*Secretary, Miss MARGARET HANSON.*

*Treasurer, Mrs. L. C. FERRELL.*

This club was formed in June, 1892.

The Club meets every Monday evening, excepting during the three summer months, at its rooms, 1536 Clio street, New Orleans, La.

### First Arena Club of Denver.

*President, Hon. J. WARNER MILLS.*

*Vice-President, Dr. S. T. McDERMITH.*

*Secretary, Mrs. V. D. HYDE-VOGEL.*

The Club meets the first and third Monday of each month, at 712 Kittredge Building, Denver, Col.

### The Arena Club of Olathe, Colorado.

*President, F. E. ASHBURN.*

*Secretary, Miss LIDA COTTER.*

The Club meets the first, third and fifth Monday evenings of each month.

### The Arena Club of Oswego, Kansas.

*President, JOHN E. COOK.*

*Vice-President, ALBERT DRAPER.*

*Secretary and Treasurer, RAY WOODS.*

The Club meets the first and third Wednesday evenings of each month.

## THE ARENA CLUB MOVEMENT: A WORD TO OUR WORKERS.

MORE and more are we convinced that the Arena Clubs are destined to be a great and noble educational factor in the battle against privilege and reaction, and for the reenthronement of the ideals of Jefferson and of Lincoln. The practical movement to get the government back into the hands of the people through Direct-Legislation, or Guarded Representative Government, will at

one stroke break the sway of the corrupt boss and the money-controlled party machine. Hence, it seems to us that no immediate question before the American people is so imperative as this. From all quarters we are receiving strong words of encouragement. At this writing a number of clubs are in the process of formation, and those formed are earnestly carrying forward the work, manifesting that intellectual hospitality or the broad, free spirit that is so essential to growth. We believe that there is nothing so safe as freedom and nothing so conducive to growth as free, honest and frank discussions of all great questions. With Jefferson, we hold that "error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

In our Arena Club work there is one point that we should specially emphasize, and that is, the importance of freely granting to every speaker that respect and deference to his opinions that we ask, and by right expect, for our own. It is understood that all members are honest truth-seekers; all wish to see the government a genuine democracy—a land in which the people are the actual sovereigns—a land where equality of opportunities and of rights prevails. All are earnest lovers of our country and no man possesses a monopoly of truth. We all may be in error, but if we are broad enough, big enough and just enough to welcome all honest expressions of opinion and invite full and free discussion, only growth and the diffusion of the light of truth and justice will follow.

Hence, we urge all clubs to cultivate hospitality of thought while bravely working for the great central idea of getting the government back into the hands of the people.

## THE CHURCH AND REFORM DISCUSSED AT THE DENVER ARENA CLUB.

On February 5th, an interesting discussion was held at the headquarters of the Denver Arena Club on "The Church and Reform." At this meeting five new members were added to the club, after which Rev. H. W. Pinkham delivered an address on "The Church and Reform." In the course of his remarks, Mr. Pinkham undertook to define the function of the Church. He did not come as an apologist. The Church, as a miniature of the Kingdom of God, was removed from the turmoil of political strife, while reformers were inclined to be intolerant and even vituperative in their zeal for a cause. They have the virtues of their faults.

## *The News of The Arena Clubs and Other Movements.*

He gave a brief history of the religious idea in the scriptures, where the kingdom of God, and not the Church was the prominent idea, and declared that the function of the Church was Religion only, the keeping alive of the idea of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man; that it was an inspirer to good deeds and right living, not an active participant in social affairs; that it should not be an active agency in politics or even education or philanthropy, strictly speaking, as in these highly specialized times all things, whether of government, education or charity, were in the care of specially established institutions. But that the church was the fount from which the best and most unselfish workers along these institutional lines drew their inspiration, he offered to prove by quoting statistics from an article in *The Independent* by Dr. W. D. P. Bliss, who showed that, out of 1,012 returns made on inquiry papers sent out to University settlement, associated charity and similar organizations, by the American Institute of Social Service, founded by the Rev. Josiah Strong, 74 per cent. were found not only to be communicants of, but real attendants on some church. Of these 92 per cent. were employed by the Associated Charities, 88 per cent. in social settlements, 71 per cent. in other social organizations. When this percentage of church-people who are active social workers is set over against the 25 per cent. of church-people in the entire community, it will be seen that the church is really a living, active agency. Institutional churches, the speaker thought, are but a passing phase of church-work, as their work is being more and more relegated to the special agencies mentioned.

The address was followed by a general discussion in which Dr. McDermith, Messrs. Vogel and Herman, Senator Rush and Miss Spooner took part. Mr. Vogel said he came from a country where the church is hostile to the laboring man; hence, the latter did not go to church to get inspiration for self-improvement and the betterment of society. Any non-church member, on coming out of church, must shake himself up to get rid of the atmosphere of smug respectability and restore his ordinary interest in daily life and enthusiasm for reform. There are two standards of morality, the conventional and the real: the church stands for the first, reformers for the second. There are two courses for the church in regard to reformers: to come along with them or to stay behind. We have wished to know how far we can reckon on the church to assist us in the work of civic reform. The reverend gentleman has answered the question. He says that the church cannot afford to espouse one side or the other.

Mr. Herman stated that he would not criticize any organization which taught what it believed. Rockefeller and others have a right to build libraries, etc., if by so doing they are living up to their belief; but as soon as they propose to be leaders of thought, we have a right to call them to account as to that belief. Mr. Evans donates large sums of money to the University of Denver, and sends one of its professors abroad to gather data on Municipal Ownership, who returns with a lot of lies. Then we have a right to nail him to the cross and nail him to stay. Mr. Evans is a prominent member of the church, and this is the good reform-work he is doing.

Miss Spooner pointed out, as bearing on the ques-

tion of the duty of the church to interest itself in current affairs, that Christ attacked the abuses of his day openly. He did not wait to see how his disciples would take it. She did not see how the church, which was supposed to be the conservator of Christ's teachings, could fail to do the same and be true to its mission.

Senator Rush, in the course of some very thoughtful remarks, said that doubtless the church had much to do with making the citizen, as Mr. Pinkham said. His own character was the result of the training of a religious mother. Nevertheless, it was still his opinion that the churches were as cold as icebergs on reform questions. Most of the workers in these reforms are not very strong church people. If they go into the church expecting encouragement, they find, as Mr. Vogel says, they must go out again to work up a new crop of enthusiasm for their chosen work. We may have too much enthusiasm on tap. The church seems to have lost sight of that sort of spirit of which Miss Spooner spoke. Christ scourged the money-changers out of the temple, yet still the money-changers run things to-day. The identity of the church-workers with the charity-workers is simply an arrangement by which the moneyed-class maintains its position as leaders of society, of the club, etc. It is the same with educational institutions: wherever they are endowed by the moneyed-class, their teachings are of a kind to please the class furnishing the money. The University of Chicago has its Meyer, and the University of Denver has its Dr. Roberts, to lecture against the rights of the people. When the church perceives in its midst a man whose wealth is derived from gambling-hells, from the renting of houses of prostitution, from the ownership of public utilities, it should have the courage to cast him out. In the scriptures there is a command: "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out." If the church should follow that example, cut off its rotten members, root and branch, then we should have a church which would be worth attending, and which we should not have to apologize for. But the church will wake up and be forced to come along.

President Mills announced that Mr. Otto Thum would deliver an address at the next regular meeting on "Labor Unions and Reform Movements."

### **EX-CONGRESSMAN ROBERT BAKER SACRIFICES A FOUR THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED DOLLAR POSITION RATHER THAN YIELD THE PAT- RIOT'S RIGHT AND DUTY TO CRIT- ICIZE RECREANT OFFICIALS.**

The Hon. Robert Baker, ex-Congressman from Brooklyn, N. Y., recently received the appointment of Secretary of the Dock Department in New York, the salary of which is \$4,500. A few days later Mr. Baker took occasion to criticize a prominent official in the city government, whereupon he was ordered by his superior, the Commissioner of Docks, to remain silent in the future. Mr. Baker promptly resigned his position rather than suffer this shameful

## The News of The Arena Clubs and Other Movements.

abridgement of the fundamental rights of a free American citizen.

In his letter of resignation to the Dock Commissioners, he said:

"I wish now to add that your action strikes at the very essence of American citizenship—the right to free speech and to an equal voice in the affairs of government. No one who values his self-respect could for one moment submit to such assumption of autocratic power by you, or any other official. To do so is not merely to passively submit to tyranny, but would be to undo much that the fathers fought for.

"For you or any other official to arrogate the right to prohibit anyone's political activity is to strike a blow at the genesis of our institutions. Those who are willing to serve their fellowmen in public office do not thereby sacrifice their right to an equal, free and untrammelled voice in government affairs. An attempt to deny this equal right is an attempt to despotism, a despotism of the most odious kind against which all self-respecting men must revolt."

Mr. Baker belongs to the high-minded and sturdy school of noble statesmen. He is a brave, incorruptible and fundamentally sound representative of free government. Such men are sorely needed today. The lives and acts of such men are ever an inspiration to all true friends of free government.

### THE ARENA CLUB OF OSWEGO, KANSAS.

On the evening of February 7th the Arena Club of Oswego, Kansas, was organized with John E. Cook, of the *Oswego Blade*, as President; Albert Draper, Vice-President; and Ray Woods, Secretary and Treasurer. Among the charter-members are Dr. J. B. Hill, Rev. Arthur Creasey and Professor H. W. Todd.

Regular meetings will be held in the City Library rooms on the first and third Wednesdays of each month.

In sending the report of the first meeting of the Club, President Cook writes: "The conditions throughout the land make this a most opportune time for the organization of clubs such as the Arena Club. Our members are comparatively young men of studious nature, and we expect good things from the Club."

One of the twenty-five-dollar sets of books will go to this initial club formed in the great state of Kansas.

### UNITED STATES SENATOR PATTERSON ON THE ARENA CLUB.

In a recent letter to the Editor of *THE ARENA*, United States Senator Patterson, of Denver, Colorado, writes: "I have felt a deep interest in the Arena Club movement, believing that it can be made an instrument of great good in the cause of governmental reform whenever established. When I get a little more time, I shall gladly take a personal interest in advancing the club and its aim."

### JUDGE LINDSEY ON THE ARENA CLUB.

Judge Ben. B. Lindsey, the eminent judge and humanitarian worker of Denver, Colorado, recently delivered a series of addresses before important gatherings in Boston and its vicinity on the "School Court and the Redemption of Erring Youths." Seldom has a public speaker made so favorable an impression on our most thoughtful citizens. We have conversed with a number of leading workers for the betterment of the race, and all, without exception, express the greatest enthusiasm in regard to the noble and practical work to which the Judge has devoted his life.

During a personal conversation with Judge Lindsey we referred to the Arena Club and he expressed his deep interest in the work and his determination to do all in his power to further the interests of the Arena Club.

### THE OLATHE ARENA CLUB.

We have received an interesting report of the third meeting of the Olathe Arena Club. At this session President Ashburn recited "The Witness of the Dust," Mr. Markham's noble poem.

Municipal-Ownership was the subject for discussion. It was spiritedly discussed, but the best of feeling was manifested throughout. The conversation with Edwin Markham in the February *ARENA* was also read and highly appreciated.

The first, third and fifth Monday evenings of each month will be the regular times of meeting for the Club.

In closing his report Mr. Ashburn writes: "There is general interest in our club, and its outlook is very good. More and more the feeling of kinship is being awakened. As Mr. Markham sings:

"There is a divinity that makes us brothers:  
None goes his way alone;  
All that we send into the lives of others  
Comes back into our own."

# To Promote the Formation of Arena Clubs for the Preservation of the Principles of True Democracy through the Introduction of Direct-Legislation, "The Arena" will give Free to the First Twenty-five Arena Clubs formed Over Five Hundred Dollars in Choice New and Standard Cloth-bound Books.

EVERY Arena Club should have a library where a few of the best progressive social, political and economic works, and the most vital recent fiction dealing with social and economic conditions, should be on hand for the information and education of its members. In order to encourage the early formation of a number of Arena Clubs, and to encourage our pioneer workers to establish such libraries, we will give free of all charge to the first ten Arena Clubs, containing not less than eight members each, formed for the inauguration of a systematic educational agitation in favor of Direct-Legislation, as outlined in this issue of THE ARENA, and having for their motto "Back to the People," twenty-five dollars' worth of handsome cloth-bound books selected from the following list. That is to say, two hundred and fifty dollars' worth of the following books will be sent to the first ten clubs thus formed. To each of the next fifteen Arena Clubs thus formed we will send eighteen dollars' worth of books from the following list, aggregating two hundred and seventy dollars, making a total of five hundred and twenty dollars.

## LIST OF BOOKS.

<i>The Works of Henry George</i> , each.....	\$1.50
One or more volumes of the great works of Henry George will be sent to each club.	
<i>The Story of New Zealand</i> , by Prof. Frank Parsons.....	3.00
<i>The City for the People</i> , by Prof. Frank Parsons.....	1.00
<i>Lincoln and Other Poems</i> , by Edwin Markham.....	1.50
<i>The Menace of Privilege</i> , by Henry George, Jr.....	1.50
<i>The City the Hope of Democracy</i> , by Fred. C. Howe, Ph.D.....	1.50
<i>Socialism Made Plain</i> , by Allan L. Benson.....	0.75
<i>The Ethics of Democracy</i> , by Louis F. Post.....	2.00
<i>The Century of Sir Thomas More</i> , by B. O. Flower.....	1.50
<i>How England Averted a Revolution of Force</i> , by B. O. Flower.....	1.25
<i>The New Time</i> , by B. O. Flower.....	1.00
<i>Gerald Massey</i> , by B. O. Flower.....	1.00
<i>A Short History of Monks and Monasteries</i> , by Alfred W. Wishart.....	1.50
<i>The Building of the City Beautiful</i> , by Joaquin Miller.....	1.50
<i>The Cost</i> , by David Graham Phillips.....	1.50

<i>The Plum-Tree</i> , by David Graham Phillips.....	\$1.50
<i>The Deluge</i> , by David Graham Phillips.....	1.50
<i>The Reign of Gilt</i> , by David Graham Phillips.....	1.50
<i>Moonlight</i> , by Dan. Beard.....	1.50
<i>The Octopus</i> , by Frank Norris.....	1.50
<i>Equality</i> , by Edward Bellamy.....	1.50
<i>Garrison the Non-Resistant</i> , by Ernest Crosby.....	0.50

## CONDITIONS.

One copy of each of the above books, up to the value of twenty-five dollars, will be given to the first ten Arena Clubs formed. A selection of eighteen dollars' worth from the above list will be sent to the next fifteen clubs formed. The clubs will be credited in the order of the date of their formation. Each club must contain not less than eight charter-members and the club must agree to meet at least once a month for the ensuing year for the discussion of Direct-Legislation and other practical measures which will promote the principles of fundamental democracy and bring the government again back to the people.

The names and addresses of all charter-members, together with the officers of the club and the date and place of meeting, should be sent to the Editorial Rooms of THE ARENA, No. 5 Park Square, Boston, Massachusetts.

This liberal offer gives an admirable opportunity for friends of progressive democracy to establish, without cost to themselves, libraries containing many of the latest and most vital standard works dealing with the principles of vital democracy and social and economic subjects that are at the present time engrossing the attention of millions of thoughtful people.

The Editor of THE ARENA will also be pleased to receive communications from persons desiring to start clubs, and the magazine will do all in its power to promote the work and to aid the clubs in the furtherance of their efforts.

Address all letters to THE ARENA, No. 5 Park Square, Boston, Massachusetts.